



Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

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SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

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CULTURAL PATTERNS OF THE ZULUS*

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Claremont, California

The population of South Africa, of which Zululand is a part, is made up largely of natives, or Africans, as they prefer to be called. There are probably 7,800,000 natives to 2,500,000 whites, or Europeans. South Africa also contains approximately 930,000 colored or racial mixtures and 285,000 Indians, most of whom have never been in India.

The Zulus, about 1,000,000 strong, live in a restricted native area in the province of Natal. This territory, about the size of Belgium, is partly bordered by the Indian Ocean and partly by the Transvaal, Swaziland, and Portuguese East Africa.

A Zulu village, or kraal, is circular in form, with the chief's hut located on the higher ground overlooking the rest of the kraal. In the center and holding the place of honor is the cattle kraal, which takes the place of a temple in more advanced cultures. Here the treasured cattle of the village are kept, and the grain is stored in underground pits. As we shall see later, the spirits of the ancestors linger around the cattle kraal, where the sacrifices take place; here the spirits are implored to protect the village from harm and in turn are thanked for bountiful crops and freedom from disease. Thus the cattle not only play an important part in the social and economic life of the community, but are an essential part of Zulu religious ceremonies as well.

The huts of the village are all located between the inner fence of the cattle kraal and the outer fence, which encircles the collection of dwellings. The main approach is directly opposite the entrance to the cattle kraal. A Zulu hut is a round, dome-shaped structure, not unlike an enormous beehive in appearance. Saplings are intertwined and joined at the top to form the framework, which is then covered with grass and made weatherproof. The better huts have a number of mats drawn tightly around the dwelling to keep the inside warm and dry in the

*Among numerous South African friends who have helped in various ways, the writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness especially to Eileen J. Krige, of the University of Natal, and to Albert Lutuli, native chief of a district in Zululand.

rainy season. When the headman occupies his own hut in the kraal, his wives are called to him in turn, or he may plan to have each wife remain with him one week at a time. When such a schedule is followed, no woman, at any time, may visit her husband's hut when she is not sleeping there.

A typical day in Zululand. The people of a Zulu village are early risers. The herd boys, usually the younger group, drive the cattle to pasture, and the younger girls or women, balancing jars or calabashes on their heads, fetch water from the nearby stream. Those who remain behind do the housecleaning and other domestic chores. This work over, the older women, especially in the growing season, will hurry to their bits of land and busy themselves with planting and cultivating. Around eleven o'clock the herd boys bring the cattle home and the milking begins. First the chief's cows are milked, and then those belonging to others in the community.

It is customary to recognize the leadership of the kraal head in all things. After the milking, breakfast is served in the hut, with the members of the family squatting on their eating mats. Usually the man's place is at the right of the door on the men's side of the hut; the other members of the household take positions according to sex and age, the women keeping to the left side and the children sitting at the back of the hut on the women's side. Each native uses a mat, for it is not proper for anyone to sit on the bare ground. The men sit with their buttocks on the mats and knees erect; the women draw their feet to one side. It is a serious breach of decorum for a woman to sit before a man in any other way. Hands are washed, and the members of the family eat from a common bowl with clean wooden spoons. After the meal the herd boys take the cattle back to pasture and the women resume their mat and basket weaving or their beadwork. Later in the day the able-bodied women return to their fields or go into the bush for firewood. The married men are not as active as the women, unless there are huts to be built or some other type of men's work to be done. They spend much time drinking beer and attending social gatherings. Private tasks of their own they undertake in a very leisurely way. The writer visited one kraal where there were nine huts, in each of which lived a wife with her children. The headman here was a relatively rich man and his kraal was far above the average in appearance and orderliness. Each wife is independent of the other wives. She has her own hut, her own plot of land, on which she raises food for her household, and her own

cattle, given to her hut for her own special use. These cattle come to her through her eldest son and do not belong to her husband. Each wife cooks just for her own hut, but she must always send a portion of every meal to her husband. When the head of the kraal visits a wife, as he does in turn, he eats his meal in the hut in which he is sleeping, and the other wives regularly contribute their share of the food.

Toward sunset the cattle return home and the women drift back from the fields and start cooking the evening meal. When night falls, especially on bright moonlight nights, the kraal dwellers gather around the fire and listen to the stories which transmit the tradition and folklore of the tribe from one generation to another.

The Zulus are fond of singing, as well as dancing and storytelling, and these leisure-time activities play an important role in individual and community life. In most primitive societies, for example, music and the dance promote the sense of group unity; this is especially true of the Zulus whenever the occasion calls for a great degree of harmony within the group, i.e., in the anxious moments before a battle and at all the transitional ceremonies, such as births, weddings, and deaths, which involve a reshaping of culture patterns. In these respects Zulu society is much like the old Maori culture in New Zealand, with its *haka*, *poi*, and *tangi* music and dancing.

Again, storytelling is an essential part of the evening hours after the day's work is done and just before bedtime. These folk tales sometimes try to explain the beginning of things, and at other times they are fables which usually carry a moral. Most of the bedtime stories are, however, told for pure entertainment and amusement; in them monsters and cannibals play important roles and birds and beasts speak to the human beings who are the chief actors in the tales.

A popular story often heard around the fire at night tells of a baboon and a tortoise. A tortoise once met a baboon and suggested that each should plant a fruit tree so that he might have fruit of his own. At first the baboon said "No," for could he not get along all right with the fruit from other folks' trees? When he saw the tortoise planting a tree, however, he started to plant one too, but, unlike the tortoise who worked so carefully, he merely scratched the topsoil, stuck in his tree, and scattered ashes around it. In due time the tortoise had a fine tree, whereas the baboon's tree soon withered and died. Unfortunately, the tortoise found that he could not climb his tree to pick the ripe fruit, so the baboon gladly agreed to climb it and drop the fruit for the tortoise.

Once in the tree, he took no further notice of the tortoise, who shouted long and loud without getting any result. The moral of this little tale, to the Zulu, seems to be that one should never trust a stranger from another tribe until he proves his worth.

Many other stories help to while away the evening hours in the Zulu kraal when the older women especially are called upon to repeat the old fables to the little ones until, one by one, they fall asleep or the storyteller grows weary of the telling. The company then breaks up, and soon everyone is in bed, where, it is said, the antics of the animals are continued in their dreams.

Such is the daily round in a Zulu village. We may add that, in kraal culture, children of different ages do not mingle. Within the family circle no young man will drink beer or eat meat with the older folks. He may be offered beer, but he must go away from his elders at once.

Foods. *Amasi*, or curds of milk, is the equivalent of bread in the American diet or of rice in the Oriental. Most of the Zulu dishes are a mixture of this amasi with a variety of vegetables. The curds are eaten with a spoon or used as a part of other dishes. Another common dish is a combination of amasi and mealies, or kaffir corn. The mealies are boiled, then taken out of the water, dried, and powdered. Wild honey is often added to sweeten the mixture. Again, crushed mealies with pumpkin or mashed sweet potatoes make a favored dish. The potbellied children whom the visitor too often sees in the kraal would seem to indicate that the children are poorly nourished, but this lack of proper food apparently is overcome if the youngster survives childhood.

For the adult meat is the best-liked food. Meat, customarily, is eaten on special occasions only: when a sacrifice is deemed necessary, when an important event like a wedding is celebrated, or when an honored guest is welcomed. Special portions of the beast belong to different groups in the kraal. The girls of a wedding party, for example, have the right to cut small pieces from any quarter of a slaughtered beast, as part of the ceremonial ritual.

Likewise beer, a highly nourishing food in the old days, was a most important addition to the Zulu diet. More recently, owing to government regulations and the influence of missionaries, it is consumed in much smaller quantities and is now regarded less as a food and more as an intoxicating beverage. Aside from its economic value as food, beer has been of considerable social importance. It is the cocktail of Zulu living, for a beer party is the usual way of entertaining friends. The writer

attended a beer party one Sunday afternoon, to which guests from far and near had been invited. As there were too many people for any one building, the company of friends gathered under a temporary shelter set up in a convenient place and spent the whole afternoon drinking beer, swapping yarns, and gossiping.

Then again beer has often been used to reconcile differences between warring factions. After a serious family or neighborhood quarrel, peace and friendship are often restored by a ceremony which literally means to pour water for one another. At an appointed time the parties to the dispute and other interested natives gather at a prearranged spot outside the kraal. A mixture of medicine and ashes from the ash heap behind the village is brought forth and the principals are asked to wash themselves. Each of them has been wearing a palm leaf around the neck. After a full airing of the grievances the wranglers throw their palm leaves behind them, and, as they sit down together on the same mat, they drink beer out of a common bowl. The rest of the group now begins to drink too and the occasion becomes a joyful one. A full and frank discussion of the issues at stake is essential to the happy ending; otherwise the evil in the heart of the man who has held something back will sicken his stomach and cause it to swell from the beer he has taken.

Birth and childhood. Each member of a Zulu household has his own place in the social order and his own role to play. The young bride, at first subservient to her mother-in-law, herself becomes a mother and then a grandmother. The child becomes a man with special duties and then an adult member of the council of elders. Childlessness is the greatest of all misfortunes, and no marriage is permanent until a child is born. The unfortunate wife may be taunted and ridiculed by the young mothers of the kraal, or she may be divorced. More often the relatives of a childless woman may send her sister to beget a new generation. Pregnancy is a period of great anxiety, for there is the ever-present danger of witchcraft to prevent the normal growth of the child. The writer, on one of his early visits to a Zulu kraal, noticed one girl who had covered her breasts and abdomen. The chief informed him that it was customary among his people for pregnant women to clothe themselves above the waist.

The superstition still lingers in some communities that certain animals may pass on their physical characteristics to human beings whose mothers have eaten them. Guinea fowl, for example, may cause the offspring to have a long, flat head; a hare may be responsible for long-eared children.

If a girl has eaten swallows, her children may not be able to make a decent nest (hut) for their young ones. Children may have long front teeth if the mother has indulged in certain varieties of rabbit.

Childbirth is the concern of women alone. Midwives are the older women, who take great care in handling the umbilical cord and the afterbirth, which is buried near the birthplace. The new mother and her child are secluded for a time, usually until the navel string of the child falls off. During this period the mother is "unclean," and a possible source of evil influences. Other members of the kraal take "medicine" to keep out of harm's way.

Even after the baby has left the isolation hut, it is still exposed to the evils of the outside world, so all visitors must be "purified" before they touch the infant. In spite of, and perhaps because of, these precautions diseases are common among Zulu children and the death rate at times is high. If a sick child sneezes the oldsters say "Grow" or express some other good wish. To prevent gripes during infancy the fruit of a certain tree is hung on a thread around the child's body. Zulu babies are not weaned until they are two or three years old, and during this period, if a mother should conceive again, her next child is apt to be stupid. Deformed or defective children in the old days were put out of the way, and when twins were born one of them was usually choked to death. Similar practices are found among other backward people, notably among the aborigines of Australia.

Every Zulu child, before reaching puberty must have its ears pierced in a ceremony marked by feasting and merrymaking. Beer flows freely, first in the hut of the grownups, who drink with the child's father, and later among the young people, who are not allowed to sit or drink beer with their elders. Now they may dance and sing in and near the hut in which the child has been confined. The piercing of the ears marks the first step from childhood to adulthood, and, though it may not be a very important step, it nevertheless gives the youngster a higher status in the kraal. He or she is able to hear and understand better, now that the ears have been pierced.

The next step in the life of the Zulu youth is an important ceremony called the *thomba*, which comes when he reaches physical maturity. The boy, on the appointed day, goes out as usual with the cattle. Later in the morning he is brought back home and given "strengthening" medicine. Then he is placed in a secluded hut for the rest of the day. A burnt offering is made to the spirits of his ancestors, and specially selected

pieces of meat are given to him. At the proper time the youngster appears in new clothes, often wearing an ostrich feather in his hair. He joins the merry-makers, who have already started dancing, and partakes freely of the feast which the women have prepared.

A girl's puberty ceremony is much like the *thomba*. When she attains maturity she hides in the neighborhood of the kraal. Her playmates inform the mother, who in turn sends the girls to bring her back. As soon as the situation is relayed to the father, he orders the boys to cut wood for the wickerwork partition behind which she will sit in her mother's hut. The girl stays in this hut until the father decides to hold the puberty ceremonies. Meanwhile she is said to be fed "for the purpose of making her fat." On the day of decision the father tells the women-folk to brew beer and make ready the feast. The beast or beasts are slaughtered, neighbors sometimes add to the gaiety by bringing their own food, the young people sing puberty songs, her playmates clap with hollowed hands, and the girl is finally declared to be ready for marriage.

The courting days now begin, and the girl may take the first steps by sending a "love letter" (a message in beadwork) to a young man who appeals to her. In Zulu life there is no medicine in greater demand than the love charm, which consists of every conceivable kind of animal fat, plants, roots, minerals, and even European chemicals, such as washing soda. Medicines are used to make a man more attractive to the girls, but most of the potions are given to the females to make them love the males. Nowadays the beadwork ornaments worn by the young men are always presents from girls, for men do not work with beads.

There is a conventional meaning assigned to each color in the bead patterns, and it is this message that conveys a Zulu girl's feeling toward a young man. White beads are the symbol of love; black beads symbolize darkness or doubt; green beads represent weak, chilly feelings; pink beads signify poverty; red beads indicate red eyes (looking in vain for her lover); blue beads bring to mind the happy dove which can fly over hills and rivers; yellow beads symbolize the wealth in cattle to be handed over to the bride's father. Hence a single string of white and pink beads would carry this message: "My heart is full of love for you (white), but you have no cattle to make possible the marriage (pink)." The bead designs are cleverly arranged so that the reading begins at one end of the string and the sequence of colors makes the message clear to the girl's boy friend.

The cattle which play such an important role in the marriage customs of the Zulus are valued today (1951) at from \$14 to \$24 each, and as one young Zulu, who had come to Durban from his kraal to work for wages, complained: "It takes a lot of time and a lot of work to save enough to pay the bride-price of eleven head of cattle."

Marriage ceremonies. The ceremony which marks the passing of cattle from the boy's group to the girl's is called *lobola*, and the primary motive behind the exchange is to cement the friendship between the two families. But deeper still is the attempt to restore the equilibrium of the kraal, which has been upset by the passing of the girl from one community to another. To compensate for the loss of the daughter, the father receives something else of great value, namely, eleven head of cattle, and of these one cow goes to the bride's mother for her personal use.

Any friction that develops during the course of the betrothal negotiations is usually removed by the exchange of presents or service. These gifts and services continue after marriage, as, for example, when the bride's mother brings to the groom's relatives, at least twice a year, a special brew of beer as a token of good will. The groom himself feels obliged to step forward and help his father-in-law whenever his services are needed.

When a girl finally decides to accept a lover, she, first of all, gets the approval of the older girls in the family circle. After that a formal betrothal takes place, in which the favored boy and his friends meet the girl and her friends somewhere in the vicinity of the kraal. Gifts are exchanged and beer flows freely. The couple are now formally engaged and their marriage is only a matter of time. By rearranging her dress the girl makes it clear to all her friends that she is now approaching marriage, although her father, officially, is not supposed to know of her engagement.

There are several other forms of marriage arrangements, but the usual procedure among the Christianized Zulus is a formal request from the boy's parents for the hand of the girl. When the father has officially given his consent to the marriage of his daughter, preparations for the wedding begin. The girl changes her headdress and wears the topknot, which denotes that she is ready for the marriage. Before the ceremony takes place, mats and bead ornaments must be made, various presents for the members of the bridegroom's kraal must be collected, and her father must provide a new dress, which his daughter will wear on her wedding day.

When the last head of cattle has been transferred from the one kraal to the other, the head of the kraal orders the beer, and the friends of both girl and boy begin practicing their songs and dances for the big celebration. Just before the bride leaves home, her father slaughters one of the *lobola* cattle in her honor. The gall of this sacrificial animal is poured on the face and lips of the girl, and the contents of the stomach are used as a cleansing fluid. This ritual informs her ancestors that she is about to leave her old home and family for a new home and a new social status. The bride-elect never goes empty-handed to her future home; she takes with her one or more cows, which in reality are gifts to the bridegroom's kraal and one of which will be sacrificed at the wedding. Of significance are the mats, baskets, beads, etc., which the bride brings to the older members of the bridegroom's immediate family. On the wedding day friends and relatives unite in singing and dancing, drinking and feasting to make the occasion a memorable one.

Though the girl has left her maidenhood behind her, she has not yet been freely accepted in the kraal of her husband. She still eats food from her old home and will not share in anything belonging to her husband's kraal until her mother-in-law gives the word. So from now on the young woman undergoes a series of adjustments calculated to make the process of assimilation in the new kraal satisfactory to all. This adjustment period usually ends about a month after the wedding. Then the new relative, fully initiated, need no longer walk behind the huts, and her husband enjoys the benefits of a higher social status. He may now associate with the married men and ignore the unmarried.

A bride is under the supervision of her mother-in-law for at least a year, and, if she has a hut to share with her man at night, she is called upon to do a lot of hard work for that hut—carrying water, cooking, sweeping, gardening, wood gathering, and corn grinding. Probation is usually over when her first child is born. Then she is provided with her own cooking utensils, cows to milk for herself and baby, and finally with a hut of her own.

Marriage taboos. Cross-cousin marriages are frowned upon in Zulu society, as well as marriages between blood relatives of any kind. If the wife is barren or dies before she becomes a mother, her husband can reclaim the *lobola*. Ordinarily, however, as stated above, a sister is sent to take the place of the deceased wife. On the death of the husband a woman becomes subordinate to his heir. A wife may be divorced for adultery and her children belong to the hut of their father, even though the mother later remarries.

The Natal Code of 1891 declares that a husband may sue for divorce on the grounds of (1) adultery, (2) continual refusal to grant conjugal rights, (3) willful desertion, (4) frequent gross misconduct, (5) any criminal sentence involving five years' imprisonment. A wife may also sue on any one of these grounds, but cruelty or ill-treatment is substituted for the fourth reason. She may sue on grounds of impotence, and he, for barrenness. A divorced woman returns to the guardianship of her father and lives in his kraal with the status of an unmarried daughter.

Seduction is a serious offense in Zululand. Not only will the mothers of the village revile the erring one, but the girls of her own age will curse her and often beat her cruelly for disgracing the community. Damages for seduction must be paid by the natives of the boy's kraal. Every child born out of wedlock belongs to the hut of the mother and bears the name of the girl's family. If the child's father marries its mother, then its status is changed and it becomes a member, in good standing, of the father's kraal.

Death and burial. Death often takes from the community an old and cherished friend and arouses conflicting emotions which strike at the roots of unity and solidarity. This immediate threat to a stable social order is removed by mourning ceremonies for the dead. Zulu rituals, as in other preliterate societies, tend to reorganize the sentiments of the community and to recapture the feeling of harmony which has been temporarily lost.

In the senile decay, the diseased person is thought of as a spirit and is not normal. In fact, the Zulus formerly used to "help such a person home" by resorting to "mercy killings." The old and disabled were often buried alive, and helpless women were abandoned in some deep ditch far from the village. After a natural death the body is buried with knees drawn up under the chin, the arms placed against the sides, and the body wrapped in the blanket of the deceased. Meanwhile, the women begin their weeping and wailing with "a most mournful and dispiriting dirge."

The burial rites have a twofold purpose: first, to separate the departed as painlessly as possible from the living, and, second, to usher him into a marginal waiting period while he is gradually being assimilated into the spirit world of his ancestors. Until assimilation is completed, his spirit wanders around the veld or near the grave and finally is "brought home." These burial rites are similar to certain corroborees in

Australia which the writer has witnessed, and which tend to quiet the restless spirit of a deceased relative.

Since death defiles the kraal, everybody is weak and in danger of following the example of the deceased. Hence "strengthening" medicine is taken as soon as the funeral is over. The medicine consists of kaffir corn or mealie meal, with various ingredients—medicinal roots, ground stones or potash, black powders, fats—all of which give the mourners a much-needed lift and a feeling of greater security.

Economic life. In Zulu culture, domestic service, water carrying, the care of children are women's work. Potmaking, matmaking, plaiting of beer sieves and ropes for thatching are also done by women. Huts are always thatched by women; they cut the grass and carry it to the kraal when a hut is being built. The men cut the poles for the hut and for the fences; the women carry them home. When traveling from village to village the women carry the bundles and the men walk in front, ostensibly to be prepared to defend the women if attacked. All work with cattle is strictly a man's job. Men and boys herd the cattle, do the milking, pour the milk into calabashes, and even wash the milking bowls.

The men pay slight attention to agriculture. They clear the bush when new fields are to be tilled, and at harvest time they may help with the reaping and the weeding. Hut building is men's work with the exception of the thatching. Wooden utensils, such as spoons and milk pots, are made by the men, who often become skilled also in basketry. They dress skins for clothes and sometimes turn out metal work, which is exclusively a part of man's world. Men do most of the trading among themselves, though the writer found the young to be more skilled in the art of selling their handiwork to European visitors. Entertaining is mostly in the hands of the men, who have, as we have noted, a great deal of leisure, especially in middle life. Much of this leisure is spent in beer drinking and visiting with friends.

In the old days the military organization was well planned, and each regiment, with a special emblem on its shields, had to attend the king's court at regular intervals. Here they weeded the royal gardens, built fences, and did any other work the king wanted done. In those days there was much more hunting than there is today.

The economic value of cattle. Cattle supply the Zulu with meat and amasi, the two most important elements in his diet, as well as with hides for shields and for clothing. The wealth of a man is always measured

in cattle, for it is with cattle that he buys wives for himself and his sons and pays the doctor when sickness comes to the kraal. When the precious cattle are sick, all sorts of remedies are applied: for kidney disease burnt hair and the skin of a hyena; when a cow loses a calf, milk is started by rubbing the back of a strange calf with the root of a small shrub bearing red berries. In Zululand a man seldom keeps all of his cattle at his own kraal, but divides some among other kraals. Then if cattle disease breaks out in one kraal, the native will not lose all his wealth. The Zulus also raise, to a smaller degree, sheep, goats, fowls, and dogs, which do not have the same ceremonial value as cattle and are therefore considered of much less importance. Goats may be sacrificed on minor occasions or when a man is too poor to own cattle. The goats, sheep, and fowls provide the natives with meat and skins, whereas the dogs have been trained to hunt.

Industries. Sleeping mats, eating mats, beer sieves, baskets of various kinds, as we have seen, are all made by the Zulu women. Eating mats and beer sieves are customarily woven by highly trained housewives, although the best baskets are turned out by the men. Pottery making is another specialty of the women, just as woodworking is left to the men. Since these natives have not acquired the art of joining, most of the articles in use must be carved out of solid pieces of wood.

Political organization. The true national unit in the Zulu branch of the Bantu people appears to be the sib, which is not a fixed unit, but an expanding one. It grows, subdivides, and is constantly strengthened by groups from other tribes who for political reasons or on the suspicion of witchcraft have left their own kin. Subsequently, the community develops into what is known as the tribe, which includes many people belonging to many sibs. In former days Natal was inhabited by small exogamous tribes, and these natives held intertribal dances to give the young folks a chance to become acquainted. At first, all members of one community believed that they were descended from a common ancestor. Later, other sibs were assimilated, until the Zulu name spread over a large part of the native population of Natal. The parent tribe is usually known by the name of the original ancestor of the dominant sib, and the chief is a descendant of the mythical forefather whose name the tribe bears.

The smallest political unit is the kraal, under the direct control of the village head. The kraal headman himself is under the direct supervision of the district chief. Adult males are the advisers of the village

leader, who is the father and protector of the kraal and the administrator who settles disputes or quarrels that may arise. This officer, as we shall soon see, is the priest who officiates at the sacrifices and also represents his ancestors at all public ceremonies. Once as the writer was on his way to the kraal of a prominent district chief in the thinly settled veld near Durban, a young messenger from the headman met him to show him the way. In the course of the conversation that followed, the native guide remarked in fairly good English, "We are all under his command. He is our leader, whom we must obey." When sickness visits the chief's kraal, a sign that his ancestors are angry, gifts of cattle for sacrifice are sent by his subjects to appease the wrath of the spirits.

The most serious crimes in Zululand are witchcraft, incest, and treason. Witchcraft could not be dealt with by ordinary legal processes. When a man is suspected of black magic, he is not given a trial but a "smelling out," in which the doctor uses his uncanny knowledge, or the accused is forced to undergo an ordeal to prove his guilt or innocence. The punishment for witchcraft is death, and sometimes the victim is cruelly tortured until he becomes unconscious. A person guilty of incest, or marriage within the degrees of blood relationship forbidden by the mores, is regarded as a wizard or an evildoer and is subject to the death penalty. Treason against the chief is the same as treason against the tribe. A man is never tried for this crime; the mere suspicion of treasonable conduct is sufficient, and the chief at once takes forceful action to rid the community of the criminal.

Ordinary disputes in Zululand generally go first to the village head; then, if the contestants are not satisfied with his ruling, they may carry the case to the district chief. The next step would be an appeal to the magistrate's court at the county seat, administered by European judges. The writer had the rare privilege of meeting the parties to a dispute at the kraal of a native district chief, and, to all outward appearances, the whole case was handled wisely and judiciously. Most disputes, like this one, are satisfactorily settled either by the kraal head or by the district chief, who thus saves the magistrate's courts and the higher courts a vast amount of routine work. Formerly court fees were unknown, but today they are paid to the magistrate's (European) court, and one of the native district chiefs spoke of a small fee in connection with a native district court hearing. Today all serious crimes are tried in magistrate's courts, and the traditional power and prestige which went along with chieftainship has been lost.

Zulu religion. Religious ceremonies play an important role in almost all phases of Zulu life: in warfare, in first-fruit rites, in personal life crises, etc. The ancestors are called upon again and again for help and are propitiated with blood sacrifices. Beyond ancestor worship, moreover, the Zulus believe in vague supernatural powers exercised by the "Old, Old One," the creator or first cause, "Unkulunkulu." This word is used to designate an original creator, the founder of the tribe, the one to be prayed to and worshipped with the usual sacrifices. One native explained: "He who begat my grandfather is my great-great-grandfather, and he who begat my father's grandfather is 'Unkulunkulu,' the first of our family." In fact, all families have their great-great-grandfathers and their "Unkulunkulu," to whom the elders pay devout homage. But this general concept is too remote from the everyday life of the people and hardly enters into ordinary worship.

A terrible fate awaits these ancestral spirits if their living descendants fail to have children, for then the forefathers will have no kraal to call their own and will be forced to eat grasshoppers on the mountainside, a very sad plight for respectable ancestors. The spirits of old women and little children are often urged to come and eat of the sacrificial meat, for the oldsters are revengeful and malicious and are apt to do much harm, whereas the spirit of a child is pure and helpful.

The family ghosts reveal themselves oftentimes in dreams. Not all dreams, however, come from ancestors, for there are times when a native resorts to medicine to send a dream to some acquaintance. And there are other times when a young suitor will try to win the heart of his ladylove by sending her a dream. The spirits, likewise, reveal themselves by sending signs and omens to warn their descendants of impending danger, i.e., if a calf were to lie down and sleep while the mother was being milked, this would be a hint to the living to be on their guard.

The third method commonly used by the spirits to communicate with the living is to bring illness to some part of the body. A diviner is then called to find out the cause of the disease. If he discovers that the ancestors are angry, the kraal slaughters a beast to appease the wrath of the spirits. The cattle kraal, as always, is the Zulu temple, and it is here that the animals are sacrificed to bring the living into direct communication with the dead.

Medicine and magic. The head of the family, as we have seen, is also the priest who officiates at the sacrifices, but the real link between the past and the present is the witch doctor. This person, usually a

married woman, keeps in close touch with those who have passed on and interprets the meaning of messages to their descendants.

There are five classes of doctors in Zulu society:

1. Ordinary medicine men or women, whose knowledge of herbs fits them to cure disease—the herbalists.

2. Diviners, the most respected doctors, who can "smell out," or untangle human intrigue. The diviner's power is not hereditary, and the spirits enter the life of anyone whom they choose to favor. The chosen few, usually disordered mentally, are put through a lengthy preliminary training under the direction of some other doctor, who may also be psychopathic or psychotic. Notwithstanding, this diviner is the one most sought after in Zulu culture.

3. Doctors possessed of speaking spirits, who serve as oracles and whistle answers to questions from the top of the hut. These ventriloquists are called whistlers.

4. Heaven doctors, who acquire their secrets through magic. The resort to magic formulas enables them to bend the heavens to their will, to ward off the hail from the crops and the lightning from the villages. These strange personalities are called heaven herds because they act during a storm much as the boys do in herding cattle. They run back and forth and shout wildly to the lightning, ordering it to go away from the vicinity of the kraal.

5. Rain doctors, whose position, unlike that of the heaven herds, is hereditary. They are known to be on friendly terms with a serpent who thrives on their medicine. As professional rainmakers, Zulu doctors look for a bird that is not afraid of thunder. This bird is killed and thrown into a pool of water, whereupon the heavens become soft and weep for the bird, "wailing a funeral wail." Moreover, when the natives see many of these birds walking in the open country and crying, they know that rain is on the way. Another heaven bird for which the heavens will weep is a reddish-brown eagle, larger than most birds. The rain doctor will catch and kill it to bring rain. The cry of this bird in flight is a sure sign of an approaching storm.

Sympathetic magic is also resorted to in the treatment of many ailments, although in most cases there is little physical connection between the medicines and the illness. Thus medicine and magic go hand in hand, and the doctor must be schooled in all forms of the art, not only to prove the effectiveness of his own remedies but also to expose the practices of other wizards and witches.

An eclipse. The Zulus view an eclipse with alarm and imagine that something has gone wrong with the sun or moon. They start to lament and prepare for another sacrifice that will awaken the heavenly body from slumber.

Zulu calendar. The native calendar is divided into thirteen lunar months, each one beginning with the new moon and named after the prevailing weather at that season. February, for example, means to be satisfied and contented, for at this time of the year, at the end of summer, there are the new crops to fill the underground pits.

The reader should always keep in mind that the foregoing account of culture patterns is an attempt to describe the Zulu as he has lived before the coming of the white man. With the recent impact of Western civilization, many changes are taking place. But the farther we get away from the white man's influence, the more closely are the native people following the customs and beliefs of their ancestors.

Main causes of change. These cultural changes are due to several causes. Economic life is disturbed by the introduction of manufactured goods, by taxation, and by the migration of able-bodied men from the kraal to the mines and the factories in urban centers. Religious life is changing with the recognition of the difference between Christianity and ancestor worship or heathenism, and with the growing influence of the Christian missionaries who are developing native leaders to carry reforms back to the villages. British rule and the subsequent loss of tribal independence and authority have altered the character of political life.

Social organization generally is not changing as rapidly as the other culture patterns. Nevertheless, with the spread of Western ideas, all patterns of culture are being modified. To cite one example in conclusion, the migration of labor to the cities has profoundly affected family life. Prolonged separation of husband and wife has brought women greater personal freedom as well as increased domestic responsibility, but it has also led to frequent illicit love affairs. The changing economic status, perhaps more than any other factor, has led to a loss of respect for moral principles and to the increasing instability of family life. At least one conclusion is clear: South Africa is on the march, patterns of culture are changing, and no one knows the outcome.

AMERICAN LABOR AT THE CROSSROADS

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Up to the present time American labor organizations have been predominantly business unions stressing collective bargaining. With only a few exceptions, they have not been revolutionary. Unions in this country have not demanded that capitalism be overthrown; they have asked that the American system of free enterprise be modified as technological changes have caused the United States to move out of the pioneer or frontier stage into a complex mechanized world. In the words of a vice-president of a large corporation: "The majority of workers don't have to be sold on free enterprise. They like it." By the middle of the last century organized labor had practically won its fight for recognition and for collective bargaining. Along with recognition and the use of collective bargaining, organized labor began to gain other concessions from management.

Until recently, American organized labor has been proud because it had no long-run program; it proceeded step by step. In the middle years of the twentieth century, however, many American unions are beginning to look beyond the immediate and local problems as to wages, hours, and working conditions which are the traditional concern of labor. Unions are demanding and obtaining a voice in matters which have traditionally been the sole prerogatives of management. Many of the items in a typical trade agreement would be considered by businessmen of a generation ago to constitute a surrender of important rights by ownership and management and to be a revolutionary change in capitalism. However, technological changes have developed a new picture in the industrial world and call for new and strange relations between labor and management based upon mutual understanding.

American labor organizations have grown large and powerful, and the families and friends of the membership now constitute a large fraction of the American public. It is a basic economic truth that wages are derived from output, and in the long run reduced total output inevitably means lower real wages for the workers of the nation. If this fundamental of economics is understood by workers and by management, a restraining hand will doubtless be placed upon formal and informal

plans for restricting or reducing output, unless required for the health and safety of employees. The increase in national output in an age of power and technology also definitely depends upon the growth and improvement in machinery and equipment. This expansion of capital goods can take place under capitalism only when there is a reasonable hope of making profits from new economic ventures. If profits are reduced to a very small percentage of the total national income—whether by excessive or unwise taxation, or as the result of excessive wage and fringe demands made by organized labor, or by other conditions—investment will be cut and “venture” capital will practically vanish. Under such unfortunate circumstances, growth in national output and in total real wages will tend to become fixed or actually to decline. If labor, management, and government officials obtain a clear picture of this characteristic of a technological age, all three groups may be expected to aid in preventing the drying up of the sources of the profit stream.

When unions were small and weak and did not include a large percentage of the total labor force in an industry, employers were loath to raise wages because their competitors might not be forced also to increase the wages paid to their employees. Today, with labor organized into powerful unions which include practically all the workers in a given industry, employers yield readily to a demand for higher wages and to various fringe demands, knowing that their direct and indirect competitors will be subjected to similar pressures. The general level of wages and prices will tend upward. The consumer is the forgotten person. Labor is appeased at the expense of the consumer. Wage increases are followed by price increases. The inflationary spiral is persistently traveled, and the gains which labor has made through social security rights may be largely nullified by inflation. It has been suggested that forces restraining a rising level of wages are almost inoperative.

A labor union is organized primarily to gain concessions which individual and unorganized workers could not obtain. In short, a union hopes to erect dikes against unrestricted competition in the labor market. It anticipates more concessions in the form of wages and working conditions than the competition of a “free” economy would yield. Protective tariffs, subsidies, patent rights, immigration restrictions, and labor organizations are favored in order to restrain the untrammelled force of competition. Everybody, every group, likes to have the other fellow subjected to the pressure of competition, but for himself some protection

is desired from what is felt to be unfair or cutthroat competition. Labor is not different from other groups.

A union of skilled men may by monopolistic methods benefit at the expense of consumers generally and at the expense of other workers who are denied access to the particular union. Powerful and irresponsible labor organizations—exactly as powerful and irresponsible industrial and financial corporations, trade associations, and cartels—tend to stifle competition and to nullify or misdirect the authority of a democratic government attempting to act in the interests of the general public. When, however, unions become general and inclusive, this kind of monopolistic advantage fades. The problem, from the union point of view, becomes one of increasing wages at the expense of interest, rent, and profits, unless organization of labor definitely acts to increase the total production of the nation. To increase wages at the expense of interest, rent, or profits may lead to a slowing down of investment, and presently to a reduction in national income and of wages as well as of other distributive shares.

Collective bargaining between large, inclusive, and well-disciplined unions and huge corporations or associations of corporations is very different from individual bargaining between an unorganized worker and a small employer. A monopoly of the labor power available in the industry faces a united aggregation of capital. It is a case of monopoly or near-monopoly struggling with another monopoly or near-monopoly. These two aggregations may agree upon wages and fringe demands at the expense of the consumer, or labor and capital may "hunt together" with the general public as the hunted or the victims of high prices.

In the complex technological economy of the mid-century, a strong and inclusive labor organization is, however, able to exert political and economic power in excess of that exerted by a large corporation. When willing freely to use the strike and violence, a labor organization is much more difficult for government to cope with than a corporation or a group of corporations. In too many instances unions are obliged to rely upon force—the strike and picketing. Arguments supported by pertinent facts will not affect many employing firms, but a strike will. The number of wage workers far exceeds the total of corporate stockholders and the political strength of united labor is and will continue to be considerable. Unless labor leaders and the membership in big unions gradually lessen the group pressure being put upon the community in order to gain special concessions for labor as a producer at

the expense of the general public, of which labor is a large fraction, calm observers fear that American democracy and capitalism are in grave danger.

Some of the pressure upon corporations may be due to the refusal of the management to open the records and books of the company to representatives of the workers. Collective bargaining will be carried on in the dark, or at least in the twilight zone, until this is done. Union representatives cannot be sure about the exact situation in regard to profits, costs, depreciation allowances, and other items. However, another potent reason for the pressure which is being put upon employing firms is derived from conditions within the over-all union organization. The large inclusive national unions invariably have a strong centralized control over their locals, but each one of these national bodies is an autonomous unit. National federations, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, are really weak confederations with little authority over the affiliated unions. About the only disciplinary power belonging to these federations is that of suspending or expelling an affiliated union.

Each one of the one hundred plus affiliated unions as well as each one of several large unaffiliated national unions tries to gain advantages for its members, and each union and its leaders try to get as much for the members as any other union and union leader are able to obtain, if not more. The immediate good of a pressure group and its officers rather than the good of the general public, of which it is a fraction, is uppermost in determining policies and programs. If interunion rivalry were reduced as a result of governmental regulation, education, or other means, the attention of labor might be turned more and more toward a program of raising standards of living by increasing output and preventing inflation rather than by the often deceptive plan of forcing an increase in money wages. Unionists must be shown that excessive demands may injure them as consumers more than they gain as producers.

American unions are now striving vigorously to gain political power. If labor takes over one of the two big parties or forms a triumphant labor party, the position of labor organizations may be affected. The prime purpose of a labor party may on occasion run counter to the economic demands of a national union. For example, a union may make a demand for higher wages which will not square with the program of the labor party. Under a totalitarian form of government, unions lose their power and prestige.

Since, at the present time, wages and social security payments amount to about three fourths of the total net income of the nation, it is not possible greatly to increase real wages at the expense of profits, interest, or land rent. The chief source of increased real wages is increased output. We should strive to increase the size of the pie instead of devoting so much time and energy haggling over its division, over the percentage going into profits and into wages. Even, if agreement could be reached as to the over-all division between wagedworkers on the one hand and investors and management on the other, there would still remain conflicts between groups as to relative wages and struggle within groups as to differential wages. If, however, total wages in the future are increased as total production increases, inflation, in so far as it is caused by wage increases without a corresponding increase in productivity, would be avoided.

Careful analysis and clear presentation of economic problems are today a "must"—if American capitalism is to continue to be vital and dynamic. As the writer sees the problem, the national economy should be viewed as fundamentally that of an isolated farm or plantation. The economy of the nation in regard to output, income, and consumption of goods and services is merely that of a pioneer farm written large and complicated by specialization. The family of the inefficient or lazy farmer, unable to get good tools or equipment, was doomed to poverty. Similarly, the nation in which much restriction of output is practiced and little new or older machinery is utilized does not have a high standard of living. As yet we do not possess exact information as to the appropriate amount of investment—additional machinery and equipment—needed at a particular time and a given geographic subdivision. It is possible, however, to ascertain roughly the amount needed. Too much investment will curtail consumption spending and reduce the demand for the output of industry; too little will keep production and therefore consumption at a low level.

The powerful and growing American labor organizations are also becoming interested in national and international economic and social problems such as the treatment of minority or weak groups and the Point IV Program of President Truman. American unions may indeed be at the crossroads. Shall they be helped along the road which makes for industrial peace and collaboration with other groups in considering international and domestic questions, or shall labor be made to feel that it is and must remain a social and political outcast? The recalcitrant

attitude of certain labor leaders may be partially accounted for by the fact that, although they have attained positions of great power, they have not been recognized by business and professional men as social equals. They are not welcomed into clubs frequented by business and professional people. Their sons and daughters who may go to college fail to get into the exclusive fraternities and sororities. These matters are thorns in the flesh and lead to many a harsh labor-management controversy which otherwise would not have occurred.

While pressure for higher and still higher wages and other concessions may come because militant labor leaders are anxious to establish and maintain prestige or because other labor leaders have obtained better terms, in the majority of cases the rank and file of workers press directly or indirectly for higher and higher wages. If this be the case, a widespread educational program is indicated. It will be necessary to show the rank and file of workers that wages outrunning increased production will sooner or later lead to an inflationary spiral in which higher money wages mean higher prices followed by other futile rounds of higher wages and higher prices, to a reduction in investment, to reduced total output, and to unemployment. There is a definite common ground of interest between the consuming public and the producing and selling organization which strives to keep prices low. The union is essentially a selling organization which constantly strives to keep the price of the commodity in which it is interested high. Consequently, the union and the consuming public seem to have conflicting interests. On the other hand, a large part of the consuming public is made up of the families of wageworkers. In a democracy the government should represent consumers rather than producers acting as minority pressure groups.

In proposals for labor unity recently made by high union officials, stress is placed upon the alleged attitude of big business and of powerful financial interests. The antagonistic stand of those interests against organized labor is given as a reason for urging greater unity of action on the part of labor. Outside antagonism, real or imaginary, makes for united action and for solidarity on the part of a nation, a labor organization, or a political party. If organized labor in the United States is convinced that powerful business interests are persistently trying to destroy it, the growth of class or group dissensions will be stimulated, and the future of democracy and of a dynamic capitalism in this great nation will be threatened. Now is the strategic time for management to

cultivate amicable and intelligent labor-management relations in American industry. Such a policy will also tend to reduce the demand for governmental interference.

In recent months American labor has taken a firm stand against communism both at home and abroad. The organization of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in December 1949 was fostered by both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The delegates to the initial meeting in London are said to have represented fifty million workers in over fifty countries. Such an organization may well prove to be a potent force in the struggle against communism and for the dignity and liberty of the individual. The management of American industries, professional workers of all types, farmers, and other middle-class groups who have not been especially sympathetic toward the program of organized labor should now patiently try to understand and do teamwork with labor unions. A growing number of skilled and highly paid workers in the steel industry, in the machine tool industry, in the building trades, on the railways, and in other occupations are becoming home owners and are buying life insurance and United States bonds. They are becoming a part of the American middle class; their outlook upon life is not dissimilar to that of professional and white-collar workers.

If the United States remains a democracy, unions are here to stay. Americans should strive to find and publicize common long-run aims which tend to bind together groups which at first and in the short run may often seem to be antagonistic. Among such goals may be mentioned the prevention of the spread of communism, increased emphasis upon the dignity of the individual, enlargement of the national income, increase of leisure time for all, and the spread of prosperity to the portions of the globe now periodically threatened by famine and epidemics. Peace, prosperity, and freedom are goals which may be achieved only if all groups in the community are persistently and intelligently working together, overlooking differences of race, creed, and ancestors.

MEASURING BASIC COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

A RESEARCH PROJECT ON NEGRO-WHITE RELATIONSHIPS IN SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

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The very title of this paper gives the listener a right to demand three basic clarifications or avenues of information—a thesis, objectives, and a research summary. The first two will be attempted, but the third must await a future date. This, in other words, is a preliminary research report on objectives and general procedure underlying a major thesis. The project, as such, is in process, the impossibility of findings on the study is a foregone conclusion.

The subject of minority group relations is, of course, not new to the average university and college curriculum nor to the trends of history in general. Yet, for public interest, the last half decade has brought a "newness" suddenly, and seemingly with great force. On the one hand, the last war and positive attempts on the part of organizations and particularly political parties are forcing us to take inventory "of the American democratic heritage."¹ On the other hand, there appears to be an important link between minority group relations within our own culture and our ability to deal adequately with other nations. Not only, however, is this newness of interest bursting forth with suddenness and with force, but an introduction and reintroduction of both new and old theories of prejudice are clamoring for consideration. Perhaps the most popular of the old theories calling for attention is that of dislike because of differences. That is, a person who is physically different, like the Negro, "is said to cause an instinctive antipathy."² Representing the resurgence of this in scholarship circles, although in a somewhat reconditioned form, is Gustav Ichheiser. His pleasant controversy with Louis Wirth of Chicago³ is undoubtedly familiar to this group. Says Ichheiser:

¹ Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948), p. v.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

³ Gustav Ichheiser, "Sociopsychological and Cultural Factors in Race Relations," *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:395 f., March 1949.

The theory of race relations is in confusion because of the failure to distinguish the sociopsychological which is universal from the cultural which varies. It is a universal human fact that people tend to consider as different those who look different; the differences are evaluated in cultural terms. Thus segregation is rooted in sociosensory perception, not in a social system, cultural patterns, or prejudice. Members of cultural and racial minorities must realize and accept the fact that in certain significant aspects of their personalities they actually are different. Otherwise they are likely to misinterpret as a plot what is actually only a natural majority reaction to personal differences⁴. . . . We are unconsciously more deeply identified with those who talk as we talk, behave as we behave, and look as we look than with those with whom we have identical economic interests. . . . our bodily appearances constitute an extremely important part of our personality.⁵

To deny that physical differences have anything to do with the problem of Negro-white relations would be abusing truth. But to contend that segregation is basically rooted in sociosensory perception is generalizing truth.⁶ To be sure, physical differences do have a bearing on a policy of segregation. However, the above contention fails to recognize the fact "that there are many physical characteristics by which many individuals may be differentiated; that some of these differences are seized upon while others are not."⁷ It appears quite conclusive that certain physical traits are regarded as socially significant, while others are not. Louis Wirth speaks well when he states, "the selection in the process is understandable only in the light of history and of the cultural setting."⁸ It is not a universal human fact that people tend to consider as different those who look different, but a specific *cultural* factor. Cultural patterns hold the why. We believe basically what we are taught to believe and told to believe through the various mediums of social and cultural communication. Too often we believe and then we see. "One might ask," states Wirth, "why blond-haired persons do not react especially different to brunets or to red-haired people than they do

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

⁶ By the use of this pointed statement, the writer of this paper is not blinded to the contribution made by Ichheiser. For example, his statement ". . . it seems to me that a realistic strategy of Negroes concerning equality should not define as its goal, at least not as its immediate goal, being acknowledged as not being different but being acknowledged as not being inferior. I am fully aware that admitting differences has also its dangers, but these dangers are in my opinion less grave than the boomerang effect of denying differences which are obviously there" is sound—the only difficulty being reasoning from a basic premise which is not the basic premise.

⁷ Louis Wirth, *American Journal of Sociology*, 54:399 f., March 1949.

⁸ *Ibid.*

to their own kind."⁹ Or in specific cases where they do react differently, what appears to be the apparent reason? Simply, that these traits have not been (or have been) "historically and culturally selected as symbols significantly differentiating between social groups."¹⁰ The first part of our thesis then could be stated thus: Both the physical and the ability factor¹¹ relative to racial differentiation may be considered to be relatively constant, and we must proceed to the consideration that cultural phenomena constitute most of the significant variables in Negro-white relationships. If we know the culture and its implications of a man or group of men, we can predict to a great degree "their behavior in given circumstances in the future and explain most of their actions in the past."¹² We are almost tempted to say that much in the way of popular racial attitude is simply the child of cultural osmosis.

The second part of our thesis follows in the words of Arnold Rose—"Compared to every other country in Western civilization, large or small, America has the most definite and clearly expressed system of ideals in reference to human relations."¹³ As summarized by Ralph Bunche, a Negro political scientist:

Every man in the street, white, black, red or yellow, knows that this is "the land of the free," the "land of opportunity," the "cradle of liberty," the "home of democracy," that the American flag symbolizes the "equality of all men" and guarantees to us all "the protection of life, liberty and property," freedom of speech, freedom of religion and racial tolerance.¹⁴

Third, in accordance with the implications of the American creed, we contend that genuine minority group relations are essential to the well-being of the community. Any discrimination against any individual or group of individuals is a discrimination against society in the long run.

Fourth, and finally, we contend that not since the period of Reconstruction in American history "has there been more reason to anticipate fundamental changes in American race relations, changes which will

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Because of the time element, it is impossible to give consideration to this factor here. For a well-rounded brief summary on this point, see John Gillin, *The Ways of Men*, p. 398.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 178. See also the recent release "Studies in Prejudice," American Jewish Committee, a five-book series.

¹³ Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 1.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 1 and 2.

involve a development toward the American ideals."¹⁵ Yet, the ease and the pace with which this will be attained will largely depend on the approach utilized. In a sense, this is the basic contention of this paper.

Having contended that racial maladjustments, including racial prejudice, are largely a part of a particular cultural pattern, greatly aided by a given historical background, we now add that education *can* change attitudes. However, we use education here in its wider meaning. We mean it should deal not only with "facts about races," basically the anthropological approach, but also with experience in democratic living. The former, as indicated by various studies, is definitely a factor; the latter, however, appears to be even more effective.¹⁶ The report of the Social Service Institute again speaks convincingly

Education for democracy must include not only facts about race, and about the development of human personality and the roots of prejudice, but it must also include opportunities to practice democratic living. It must reach out into the community to include participation in community planning, establish direct contacts with people and situations, and encompass education of parents as well as children.¹⁷

Our objectives then in the Springfield study are mainly two: (1) to discover how Springfield, Ohio, measures on an attitudinal behavior questionnaire pertaining to Negro-white relationships and (2) to discover whether racial attitudes of the Springfield community can be changed through workshops on human relations.

The second objective must at this particular time remain void of comment; the first is in process. Relative to the first objective, we state clearly and forcefully—"the crucial problem in attitude¹⁸ measurement is validation of instruments."¹⁹ We agree with Professor Hinckley when he says "an instrument devised for the measurement of a certain attitude must not be affected in its measuring function by the individuals whose attitudes are being measured."²⁰ Our attitude scale has culminated

¹⁵ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), Preface.

¹⁶ For a recent study on "even facts above can change attitudes," see Arnold and Caroline Rose, *op. cit.*, p. 281 f.

¹⁷ *A Monthly Summary*, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹⁸ We accept the definition of attitude as given by L. L. Thurstone, "A man's inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specified topic." See L. L. Thurstone, "Attitudes Can Be Measured," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33: 529, January 1928.

¹⁹ G. Netter and E. H. Golding, "The Measurement of Attitudes toward the Japanese in America," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52:31, July 1946.

²⁰ E. D. Hinckley, "The Influence of Individual Opinion on Construction of an Attitude Scale," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 3:283, 1932.

in an adaptation of a combination of scales. Even though primarily based on the Thurstone-Peterson revision of the Thurstone-Hinckley scale,²¹ the Bogardus Social Distance Scale²² and the Grice²³ and Remmers²⁴ studies are also being used. Four series of scales have been devised with the instruction on each series, "Check only those statements endorsing your attitude toward the Negro." All of the four series are to be given to each individual studied.²⁵ We feel that great care is being exerted to use a set of opinions as landmarks. This rule is followed by a series of statements of opinions evenly graduated. Especially is this true of the first two series. This will enable the research students to detect a general attitude favoring the Negro, an attitude barring the Negro, or an attitude of neutrality. The third series is the Bogardus Social Distance Scale, which besides aiding in the support of the above, should greatly add to the second objective of this study, namely, where to begin in a community program on human relations. The fourth series, although it does more cross-checking for the sake of validity, contributes opinions based on popular facts about race as well as more clearly reflecting reasons for the prejudice or the nonprejudice, whatever the case might be. A similar series is being constructed for the Negro groups. Samples of the test statements (for whites) are as follows:

First Series

1. I am not at all interested in how the Negro rates socially.
2. You cannot condemn the entire black race because of the actions of some of its members.
3. Under no circumstances should Negro children be allowed to attend the same schools as white children.

²¹ R. C. Peterson and L. L. Thurstone, *Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933.

²² Emory S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1928), p. 25. See also William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), p. 387 f.

²³ H. H. Grice, "The Construction and Validation of a Generalized Scale Designed to Measure Attitudes toward Defined Groups" (*Studies in Attitudes*), *Studies in Higher Education*, 26:4:37-46.

²⁴ H. H. Remmers, "Generalized Attitude Scales—Studies in Social-psychological Measurements," *Ibid.*, pp. 7-17.

²⁵ Naturally, due to personnel (individuals making the study) limitations, it is difficult to include the whole city at once. Only the professional group is included in the present plan, more specifically, teachers (including elementary as well as the college faculty), clergymen, lawyers, and doctors. Eventually, however, the study is to include business and other interest groups.

4. The white race must be kept pure at all costs even if the Negroes have to be killed off.
5. Give the Negro time. Within the next fifty years, he will astonish you.
6. The Negro should have freedom, but should never be treated as the equal of the white man.
7. No person with the slightest trace of Negro blood should associate with white people or be classed as a white man.
8. I believe that the Negro deserves the same social privileges as the white man.
9. I would never vote for a Negro for a responsible office, even though I knew him to be a capable man.
10. I have no reason for disliking the Negroes.²⁶

Second Series

1. We should amend our Constitution so as not to grant citizenship to persons of Negroid ancestry.
2. The white and colored races should enjoy the same privileges and protection as set forth by law.
3. The Negro should be used to produce the white man's needs.
4. I do not know enough about the social possibilities of the Negro to pass judgment upon him.
5. The more I know about the Negro, the more I like him.
6. So great is the social range between the highly educated Negro and the "nigger" that the race as a whole cannot be assigned to any one notch in the social scale.
7. The only good Negro is a dead Negro.
8. The Negro is steadily raising his standard of living to compare with the average white standard.
9. Total segregation of the Negro is the only sane answer to the Negro problem.
10. I wouldn't be so apt to trust a Negro whom I didn't know as I would a white person.²⁷

²⁶ This series will immediately be recognized as primarily the Thurstone-Peterson scale. See Martin R. Katz, "A Hypothesis on Anti-Negro Prejudice," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 53:101, September 1947.

²⁷ Hinckley, *op. cit.*, p. 283 f.; Grice, *op. cit.*, p. 37 f.

Third Series

My degree of social acceptance of the Negro is characterized by the following:

1. To close kinship by marriage
2. To my club as personal chum
3. To my street as neighbor
4. To employment in my occupation
5. To citizenship in my country
6. As visitors only to my country
7. Would exclude from my country²⁸

Fourth Series

1. Under no conditions would I take a blood transfusion from a Negro.
2. Social segregation of the Negro must be maintained, although I have no particular scruples against Negro equality in business, politics, professional sports, or education.
3. True, the Negro quite often does not get justice in the courts, but he has brought this on himself.
4. Race mixture results in a lower culture, degeneration, and loss of vigor; history has clearly shown this.
5. I do not mind associating with the mulatto (the light-skinned Negro), but the black is no friend of mine.
6. If it would not be for the fact that intermarriage may result, I would insist on the same social privileges for the Negro as the white man.
7. I would not mind associating with Negroes if only they would keep themselves clean.
8. It is, of course, a well-known fact that the Negro is inferior in mental ability.
9. I would not mind having a Negro buy a house next to mine would it not be for the drop in real estate value.
10. Inherited qualities have predestined the Negro to the servant class of society.
11. Negroes should not serve in the American Armed Forces.
12. Negroes have an inherited repulsive odor; this makes social segregation mandatory.

²⁸ Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Ogburn and Nimkoff, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

In all this we are conscious of our limitations. We deem it a serious error to assume that a man's attitudes are clearly indicated by what he says. The importance of finding an association between the verbal expressions on "test statements" or a questionnaire with nonverbal behavior adjudged to be consistent with the attitudes under consideration cannot be overlooked. This importance we attempt to conquer in part by the general nature and arrangement of our test statements; more so, however, through a general prestudy of the nonverbal behavior characteristics of the community in question. Yet, in either case, error is quite possible. We conclude then that we must depend largely on the skill of the examiner in arranging situations in which people will reveal their attitudes with the least possible distortion.²⁹

Whatever then the "cry of the next half century" in American political and social life may be—whether it be "the social order must be based on a system of finance capitalism" or "a socialized state," or somewhere in between—community planning appears to be a social imperative. And why should it not be so? Community planning is concerned with the concrete detail of its subject matter, it coordinates diversified technical skills and professional training, it calls for the proclamation and specification of values,³⁰ and it sets the stage for a healthy and truly democratic national social order.

It behooves us, therefore, to surrender to the prerequisite of planning on the community level, namely, measuring basic attitudes of a given group in a given locality. Much remains still to be done on this study. Many questions are still unanswered. What will be the nature of your planning? What will you stress in your workshop? Whom will you include? Where will you start? These questions and subject matter thereto related, however, lay beyond the scope of this one paper.

²⁹ Thurstone, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³⁰ Svend Riemer, "Social Planning and Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 52:508.

ADVANTAGES OF A SMALL SOCIOLOGY DEPARTMENT*

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Most members of small¹ sociology departments are well aware of the limitations and disadvantages of a small department. These difficulties arise and must be coped with on the spot; they remain in the memory. The advantages of a small department are more subtle; they are not thrust upon one full blown and hence are seldom given full cognizance, much less carefully enumerated.

To consider the advantages of a small department it is necessary to indicate advantages for whom, and the thesis of this paper is that there are definite advantages both to the students and to the professors in such a department.

Most important of all are the advantages to the undergraduate student,² for the department in the last analysis exists to teach students. It appears that, on the average, better teaching is done in small departments. The best and most experienced men teach the bulk of the students. The bulk of students always is in the introductory courses. In a large department the students' first taste of sociology, their introduction to its principles and often their single, terminal course, is in the hands of graduate students who are just learning how to teach and whose background is spotty at best. In the small department the whole staff must teach introductory courses, and it is permanent, full-time members of the department who introduce students to the field of sociology. Moreover, as an advantage to the students, the professors in a small department, if they are to be successful, must be real teachers. There are practitioners in any teaching field who know their subject area but are poor teachers—who cannot interest or motivate, much less inspire, students. Such men soon find small departments inimical to their interests and move on to a large department where their failure as teachers is counteracted by their research and publication value. Such men are good for the discipline, and advance it, but they are not very good for

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¹ Any department not large enough to specialize.

² It is assumed that the small department would not have the effrontery to offer a graduate degree.

the students, and it is an advantage to the students that such men tend to avoid small departments wherever possible. In addition, it is a definite advantage to the student, if he has a good professor, to be known as a person by that professor. In a conversation with the head of one large sociology department he was asked how many majors he had. He replied that he did not know, "probably around a hundred or so," but he added rather proudly that he probably knew almost a fourth of them either by sight or by name. Contrast this with the small department where the department chairman usually knows well and is interested in all his majors as individuals. Certainly teaching and counsel based on knowledge of the one being taught or counseled, plus good judgment, is better than good judgment alone. A fourth factor which redounds to the benefit of the student is that in a small department teaching is a definitely personal matter. Each professor strives to do an ever better teaching job, for he can be and is quickly evaluated by colleagues and students. He cannot hide behind "average" statistics or a large department's anonymity. He must, perforce, do a good teaching job, and this is a definite advantage to the student, and probably to the professor as well.

There are, too, some definite advantages to the teacher in a small department. If he is an inexperienced teacher his "breaking in" is usually supervised more carefully and painlessly and with greater personal interest, for what he is doing represents a half to a fourth of what the whole department is doing and, the sooner he is doing a creditable job, the better it is for all the staff members. Second, it is of advantage to the teacher that some breadth of approach, at least, is forced upon him. He cannot, if he wishes, spend his time in obscure personal research, learning more and more about less and less until he eventually knows all about nothing. Some specialization is necessary and desirable, and the teacher in a small department can do some specialization, but he is never able to specialize to such an extent that his viewpoint is seriously narrowed. Moreover, his personal friendships must be interdepartmental, and he thus benefits from the cross-fertilization of subjects. Third, although the member of a small department must usually teach a course or two in which he has only minor interest, he also almost invariably has a chance to teach those things he most wishes to teach, for the course offerings and staff of small departments are usually reasonably flexible and easy to adjust to individual interests. Fourth, in large departments the best man, or one of the best, must spend a considerable

portion of his energy in nonproductive administration, sometimes almost approaching a bureaucracy. Even if he administers well, and he may not do so, his energies are drained from his primary fields of teaching and research and, in one sense at least, wasted. This does not occur to an appreciable degree in a small department, and what energies a man has may go in largest measure into his primary work.

All of the above is not to say that small departments have all the good things of academic life and no disadvantages; rather it is to point out that, contrary to our American mores, bigness is not always goodness and that members of small departments may very well be at least as well off and doing at least as good a job of teaching sociology to undergraduates as is the case in any large department in the land.

SHOULD SMALL DEPARTMENTS HAVE MAJORS IN SOCIOLOGY?*

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I shall assume that as I am surrounded by sociologists, I need not plead for the educational value of sociological knowledge and, hence, for the merit of specialized study in this discipline. Let me only remind my colleagues that the growing importance and independence of sociology require us to speak boldly in urging the meaningfulness of a major in our social science. To the question assigned me, "Should small departments have majors?" I respond affirmatively and even dogmatically—which allows me to reinterpret my question to mean, *How* can the small department offer an adequate major in sociology and of what should it consist?

The suggestions to follow assume the smallest department possible—one instructor, teaching no more than twelve hours a week on a semester basis and offering only three 3-unit courses each semester with the remaining three hours of his teaching load reserved for discussion or quiz sections. It will be noted, of course, that our one instructor must be of catholic interest and prepared to teach in at least five and, preferably, six fields of sociology.

Assuming such an instructor and this class load, we can propose a tentative curriculum for the sociology major designed to serve the following functions: (1) to provide the student with a liberal education; (2) to provide a survey of the major fields of interest which today define sociology; and hence (3) to prepare the student for graduate study not only in sociology but also in social work, law, and cognate social studies; and (4) to provide "service courses" contributing to the goals of other departments and the college at large.

We can begin to fulfill these functions by offering a basic, year course in introductory sociology on the freshman or sophomore level, preferably the latter. This introductory course should include study of the following topics: (1) the nature of sociology and the meaning of a scientific approach to it; (2) the varieties of social behavior with anthropological illustrations and a discussion of hypotheses advanced

*Panel on Problems of the Small Department, Annual Convention of the American Sociological Society, Denver, September 7-9, 1950.

to explain these variations; (3) the socialization process and personality formation; (4) social stratification; (5) the social processes, cooperation and opposition, accommodation and assimilation; (6) the major institutions; (7) population problems; (8) the study of communities and urban sociology; and (9) the problem of social change.

With such a comprehensive course as a background, upper division study may be divided, according to the interests of the instructor and the offerings in related social sciences, among any four of the following subjects: social disorganization, the family, population problems, urban sociology, minority group relations, social change, and social psychology.

Experience in five, rather than four, of these fields can be given students by teaching any two courses on an alternate year basis. While this obviously requires more preparation on the part of the instructor, it need not constitute a hardship over a period of years.

To meet the demands of a liberal education and as a complement to the sociology major, our proposed curriculum should be supplemented by requirements in the following lower division courses: economics, English composition, the history of Western civilization, biology, philosophy, and psychology.

On the junior and senior levels, a well-rounded major in sociology should include such courses as these where available: abnormal psychology, genetics, public opinion, comparative government, labor economics, business cycles, logic, and statistics.

One last suggestion for increasing the feasibility and completeness of a sociology major in the small department calls for the introduction of a 4-unit year course in Human Relations to replace the introductory sociology. Such courses, offered jointly by a sociologist, a psychologist, and either an anthropologist or an economist, are increasingly in vogue, and, although I personally decry such multistaffed courses, they do constitute a procedure whereby a limited staff may be used efficiently to expand course offerings.

In summary, we feel that the above suggestions provide a rationale for a well-rounded education in addition to an adequate sociology major administered by the small department.

MEASURABILITY OF A SOCIAL VARIABLE

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Measurement deals with abstractions whose results are observable and thus can be recorded. Such abstractions include temperature, social distance, space, time, attitudes, and social identification. Each must be measured within the framework of a particular situation. This is most readily recognized in regard to physical measures. The intangibility of time is lost to the casual observer who sees the hands of his watch move between the segments of a dial marked off in seconds, minutes, and hours. Social reactions may be measured in terms of integration, social distance, social identification, or a number of other convenient frames of reference when the reactions are observed in specific situations. Thus, an industrial plant, a family, or a community serves as a dial upon which are recorded the resultant variations of these abstractions.

The need for an adequate instrument to measure workers' identification with their industrial situation was indicated by a study covering four occupation groups in Western Pennsylvania and seventeen industrial units in the state of Washington, which showed great variation in the feeling of identification or belongingness to the industry, job, or union.¹ This study led to a second one, where an attempt was made to measure a social variable in terms of workers' identification with their work situations.² In this second study there was a variation in the degree of belongingness in almost every case. In each instance, although there was a complex of social factors, yet there was an observable relationship in the variation of each individual's reaction to the interest groups with which he was associated. An instrument was constructed which, after extensive testing and revisions, was applied to several industrial situations, including a steel mill in West Virginia, general manufacturing and public utilities in Western Pennsylvania, and a paper mill in Wisconsin. It was possible to secure the relative identifications between significant interest areas such as family, church, union, community, job, and plant. Individuals by selecting choice alternatives

¹ G. A. Elmer, *Sociological Factors in Industry*, University of Pittsburgh, 1947.

² "An Experiment in Measurement of Identification with the Work Situation," Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1950.

for these different dimensional areas, including their work situations, made possible the demonstration of measurability. The resultant variations of workers' feeling of belongingness to their work situation constituted the social variable used to test the following principles of measurement.

No two situations are identical. No group's attitude toward a situation is identical with the attitude of any other group. No two groups have similar intensity range from high to low between indiscriminate extremes. There are an infinite number of possible variations, and thus the range of variance constitutes a continuum. However, categories can be conceptualized because each group's intensity at a given time lies above or below the intensity of any other specific group, and the relative position of each group to all other groups is definite at that given time in regard to operationally defined conditions of the variable. The criterion of the defined conditions of the variable is the point of reference of the measure. Thus, the criterion of centigrade temperature is basically the amount of heat required to change water from a solid to a liquid, which has become the zero point of reference. A unit of measure, or degree, is then obtainable through knowledge of the relative position of the observable effect of the variable on any phenomenon of concern to the range of the continuum. This basis of the unit of measure, the range of temperature within which water will remain in a liquid state, is then conceived as being composed of one hundred components of range on the continuum between the freezing and boiling points of liquid water. Any given degree then represents a definite point on the range of the continuum, and an instrument can be constructed which makes the observed results of the variable on any specific phenomenon objectively discernible.

The principles of measurement are applicable to all variables whose range constitutes a continuum, and instruments can be devised when a zero, or reference point, and a unit of measure are determined. The variable of our concern is social identification. When it is stated that strong identification within a group situation gives rise to effective functioning and that a low degree of identification indicates disorganization and disintegration of a group, identification is being measured subjectively. In such instances the statement is the result of experiences and the opinion is based on personal observations. However, a measure of individual opinion can be objectified with the determining of a reference point and the establishing of the units of measure. A scale may be obtained from a sample of responses to a given set of questions relevant

to a valid understanding of the individual's opinions. In the measuring of a social variable differences in responses from individual to individual reflect the condition of the variable in the social situation involved. With an adequate sample of individuals' responses to a series of items relevant to identification, the social identification with the situation becomes apparent. When items are properly constructed and when the sample of individuals is representative, differences in identification will appear in their proper proportions to form a composite representation of the actual state of identification with the given situation at that time. When the list of relative items is refined enough to show differences between individuals and between social situations, a single social situation, whose characteristics are described as an ideal type, can be used as the basis for index points and a unit of measure.

Criteria of measurement. If terms such as *very*, *not much*, *a little*, and *more* are used, they may express a mental set, or general attitude with indeterminable significance as a basis of measuring the social variable. A relative basis of measurement is necessary, such as the liking of orange juice in relation to tomato juice, rather than independently grading the liking of orange juice as much, a little, some, or not at all. Likewise, when an answer of *yes* or *no* is given, intensity of variation is obscured. It was our problem in an experimental study to measure the identification of workers with their work situation as shown by their identification with major interest areas related to, or components of, their industrial situation. People have a value for all things of which they are conscious. There are social institutions, and values put these institutions into a hierarchy in accordance with value systems. There appears to be an explicit relationship of those institutionalized patterns which the individual's values will fit to some extent. The individual's values, however, are a result of the socialization in his environment. The industrial plant is a part of the total situation, and the individual's values are the result of his contacts with the industrial plant as well as with other interest groups. If one puts the family first and the church second, and if those tend to vary from community to community or situation to situation, the differences serve as segments for a measure of social identification.

The rank order of social identification with the interest areas of concern to the work situation can be objectively determined. Within a given culture it is possible that the hierarchy of order will not vary significantly. However, the extent of identification toward each interest

area by each individual does vary. If an instrument for measuring the intensity of identification is refined and discriminating enough, it should indicate a difference in individuals' ranking of the interest areas in question. The differences should reflect environmental factors, hence, the identification found within the social situations in which the individual functions. Therefore, the rank order of identification with one interest area such as the plant is significant in regard to the ranking of other interest areas related to a given social situation. This becomes the criterion of the relative measure of social identification. An individual's score on such a test is more than a representation of the worker's identification with a given plant. It is a component of the statistic representing workers' identification with their work situation. The worker's rank ordering of the plant in relation to other areas of interest becomes the group's expression of plant identification. Interest areas, other than the work situation, act as indices of the work situation when they are incorporated as dimensions of a measuring instrument. Thus, dimensions representing various interest areas are inseparable from an instrument measuring social identification with a given situation.

Demands of the variable as operationally defined. The complex of social factors which appeared to be of significance to workers' identification with their work situation was found in the interest areas associated with the workers' families and homes, their neighbors and the community facilities, their churches and religious associations, their unions' functions and activities, and their working associations, as well as opinions regarding their specific jobs. Thus, by taking the purpose and function of the concerned social situations and interest areas into account in the structure of the items there were three basic demands to fulfill in developing a preliminary list of items. The first of these demands was that the items permit differences, or a range of intensity responses applicable to the continuum of the variable. This might be achieved by statements such as "strongly agree" ranging to "strongly disagree," or better by a respondent's first, second, third, or fourth choice as possible alternatives to relative items. The second of these demands was that the list of items account for possible breadths and variations of the work situation's meaning to the workers involved. These variations might range from the conceptualized significance of duties performed by the workers to the assigned value of the role of management and the plant in the total social configuration known to the work group. This demand could be met by a continuum of items

showing the intensity of response to relative alternatives such as the worker's specific job, his working associates, departments and subdivisions of the plant, and the entire plant. This was attempted in a first experimental instrument. In second and third experimental instruments with the inclusion of a Job Dimension, having items relating to the interviewee's performed duties and his working associates, and with more carefully selected items regarding the work situation, or Plant Dimension, this demand was satisfied. The third demand of the instrument was that of taking into account the relative identification between significant interest areas and values with which the workers' identification with their work situation was interdependent. This was achieved in the first experimental instrument by the inclusion of items directly dealing with these interest areas and values. Interviewees had the prerogative of selecting choice alternatives for them in relation to the work situation. Later experiments grouped these items into dimensions dealing with neighborhood, church, family, union, and job.

The measuring of a social variable by the proposed method was effectively demonstrated in the writer's study, "An Experiment in Measurement of Identification with the Work Situation."³ The individual's opportunity to rank related interest areas became the criterion of measure. These responses presented the variation in a hierarchy of inter-related scale dimensions as reflected by the individual. These dimensions represented basic social institutions as known to the group being sampled. Breakdown of the group by sex, age, type of job, and other categories showed the differences in individual socialization. For example, as might be expected on a breakdown by religious affiliation, greatest identification with their church was shown by Catholics, followed by Fundamentalist Protestants, national religious groups, liberal Protestants, and non-participants. Further research will indicate the adaptability of the proposed methods to other social variables.

³ *Ibid.*

GRADATIONS OF COOPERATION

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The practice of working together is as old as the human race, and is as universal as are human groups from the most preliterate to the most educated.

Cooperation and competition are often considered as processes operating on the same level of life but in opposite directions, but this emphasis obscures the probable fact that cooperation precedes competition in social life. The basis for this statement is that without elementary cooperation of parent organisms and their offspring the latter would not have survived long enough or developed far enough to enter into competition with any other forms of life.

Cooperation may be viewed as the dynamic field of social forces which makes competition possible. In fact, when competition becomes a social conflict that destroys all cooperation, no social life can persist. It may be that the constructive effects which are credited to competition occur only when the functioning of competition is kept within the field of cooperation.

Because of its more spectacular and often melodramatic nature competition may obscure the larger role of cooperation. Because of its quieter nature, its more peaceful activities, the depth of its social functioning, the role of cooperation may be overlooked if not forgotten. Alfred E. Emerson, eminent biologist, is authority for the startling statement that cooperation is far more important in the evolution of human society than is "the struggle for existence between human beings or human groups," and that "cooperation has been a more evolutionary force in the development of man than has the bitter competitive struggle for existence."¹

The anthropologist, Ashley Montagu, asserts that it is probable that mankind owes more to the operation of the principle of cooperation "than to any other in his own biological and social evolution." Not only that, but without the functioning of "the principle of cooperation, of sociability and mutual aid, the progress of organic life, the improvement of the organism, and the strengthening of the species becomes utterly incomprehensible."²

¹ Alfred E. Emerson, *Science*, 155:38.

² Ashley Montagu, *On Being Human* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1950), p. 43.

Two subhuman types of "working together" and three major gradations of working together on the human level may be observed. These range from the most elemental to the most complicated, from the most limited to the broadest in their meanings for mankind and the most stimulative in their effects on human personality.

SUBHUMAN TYPES OF WORKING TOGETHER

1. *Reflexive cooperation.* The oldest of the gradations of working together functions below the level of awareness, and yet without it vital needs could not be met and living beings could not live very long. It functions throughout the animal world including microscopic one-celled animals, such as the amoeba and the paramecium. For example, in poisonous waters each individual member of one of these microscopic forms of life absorbs a small portion of the poison and makes such waters inhabitable for all members of this species provided the individuals remain close together. An individual by itself could not absorb enough poison to meet this problem and live.³

Another striking example from the same level of existence illustrates the earliest beginnings of working together from another angle. In waters deficient in some vital mineral substance, each individual micro-organism contributes a small portion of the deficient substance and thus makes such waters livable for all the given individuals.⁴ No individual by itself could contribute enough of the missing element and live, but many individuals by joint action are able to surmount a seemingly insurmountable deficiency.

It is only through joint action that life goes on. It is through this joint action that the origins of the social group are found. Here are the invisible and microscopic but vital origins of what today is known as the social group—taking place on a subinstinctive plane, that is, on a reflexive level.

2. *Instinctive cooperation.* An examination of the higher forms of animal life reveals that everywhere there are countless forms of instinctive working together. The most spectacular, the best known, the most written about are the "social" animals such as ants, bees, wasps. The high degree of "organization" of labor represented by these "social insects" is well known; it is a remarkable demonstration of "instinctive cooperation." Instinctive cooperation was what Kropotkin had in mind

³ W. C. Allee, "Cooperation among Animals," *Consumers' Cooperation*, 28:88.

⁴ *Ibid.*

when he referred to such activities of ants as rearing of progeny, foraging, building, rearing of aphides.⁵ Cooperation in the instinctive sense takes place below the level of consciousness; it is based partly on integrations of reflexive responses to stimuli. It is too well known to need extended analysis.

Since the beginning of one-cell forms of life animals have "worked together," but without human meanings for such activities. As individuals animals could not long survive, not even long enough to reproduce their kind. In numbers acting together they have lived and multiplied. The result of "working together" reflexively and instinctively was the flock, the covey, the herd—the predecessors of the human group.

HUMAN TYPES OF WORKING TOGETHER

1. *Survival cooperation.* In preliterate human groups reflexive and instinctive types of working together undoubtedly play a large role. In addition, there are evidences of something more, something that appears in the form of demands of loyalty, of accusations of traitorism, of emphases on group needs and welfare, and of group defense in times of danger to the group. Survival cooperation, composed of reflexive, instinctive, and simple reflective tendencies, results in the formation of the human group.

The instinctive tendencies of motherhood as found among mammals in general, and of the human mother in particular, include some elements of planning ahead, some conscious search for security, some considerations of family integrity. The rudiments of the survival type of cooperation plus parental drives seem to have led to the formation of the family group.

Instinctive tendencies of self-preservation were stimulated among primitive individuals by defending one another against wild animals and marauding human beings. Both the protecting individuals and the marauding individuals found strength not only in numbers but in a simple organization of numbers. Leadership went to the strong and fearless and followership to the weak and cautious. An elemental group sometimes called the horde was the result. As the horde grew either directly in numbers from the birth rate or by a uniting of several hordes, a more complex political group known as the tribe came into being. Thus, in various ways individuals survived in groups of one kind or

⁵ *Mutual Aid, A Factor of Evolution* (London, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1939), p. 29.

another, family, horde, and so on. Partly from genetic sources (birth rate) and partly from congregate sources (the joining of small groups) the larger social groups emerged.

The foregoing analysis does not violate the principle of group priority as developed elsewhere by the writer,⁶ namely, that the group exists today prior to given individuals. Even the origins of groups consisted of a parent and one or more progeny. The simplest beginning of all human groups was the mother and offspring.

Because cooperation has a basic survival value, it becomes a vital aspect of both individual and group behavior. The individual cooperates with his associates as a means of survival and security, and the group's survival and security depend on the loyal behavior of its members. Individual-group relationships are bipolar demonstrations of survival and security through working together.

2. *Getting ahead cooperation.* Out of survival cooperation there develops another major behavior pattern with many variations, namely, the pattern of cooperation in order that individuals or groups may get ahead of other individuals or groups in given lines of activity. By getting others to cooperate with him, an individual with initiative can put himself out in front of competitors. In doing so he acquires new and enlarged status, new powers, and he may become an influential and outstanding leader. A recent study supports the viewpoint that "the higher the rank of a person within a group, the more nearly his activities conform to the norms of a group."⁷ In other words, he who gets ahead farthest in his group, who obtains the highest rank, is he who expresses his group's interests best—as judged by the group. However, the individual who pushes so far ahead of his associates in the group that they lose touch with him and no longer identify their interests with his loses their cooperative support.

Moreover, an individual can misuse cooperation in his urge to get ahead. When his associates feel that he is taking advantage of their cooperative help for his own gain, glory, and advancement, they begin to turn against him, to criticize him openly, to withdraw their cooperative support. When "getting ahead" becomes "getting ahead of others," the "others" cease to cooperate freely.

⁶ *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950, Fourth Edition), pp. 371 ff.

⁷ George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 141.

Not only do some individuals seek cooperative support of associates in order to get ahead of rivals but some groups do likewise. A business group, for example, may absorb or at least obtain the cooperation of other groups in order to get ahead of a rival business group. In this way trusts are formed, monopolies achieve great economic power, and international cartels flourish. In this manner a nation may come into being, form cooperating satellite nations, and seek to dominate all other nations.

But when a business organization through extensive use of social organization becomes a monopoly to the point of controlling prices throughout a nation, then the individuals who feel the teeth of monopolistic prices are likely to seek controls over such a misguided use of getting ahead by cooperation, even to the point of seeing to it that the monopoly is taken over by the government, or nationalized. When a nation likewise misuses the procedure of getting ahead by obtaining the support of other nations, a United Nations Organization develops and curbs the aggressiveness of such a misguided nation.

In other words, both individuals and groups may and do work together for their own gain at the expense of others. They may use their cooperative strength to bowl over rival individuals or competitive groups. They may use cooperative procedures to destroy the weak, the ignorant, the helpless. Individuals or groups may pool their abilities in order to get ahead of other individuals or groups who are weakened by division of opinion, who for any reason fail to obtain that strength which comes only through cooperative efforts.

The cooperation that a dynamic individual or group obtains may be compulsory, that is, many followers of a leader work for the leader because they fear him, because of his threats and intimidations. Slaves are examples of compulsory cooperation. Satellite nations may also illustrate compulsory cooperation. A totalitarian state largely symbolizes compulsory cooperation. But cooperation that is compelled is no cooperation at all. Genuine cooperation involves a free and voluntary working together. To a limited degree a hierarchical structure may represent free and voluntary cooperation. To a far higher degree a democratic structure implies freedom and voluntary action in working together. As in the case of love, cooperation cannot be compelled.

The getting-ahead type of cooperation may yield a by-product of generally helpful results. A monopoly may produce inventions, develop economic efficiency, raise standards of life. A totalitarian nation may bring about a needed discipline and substitute social order for chaotic

conditions. In the long run, however, the negative results tend to outrun the positive ones as far as the largest number are concerned.

3. *Others-centered cooperation.* The highest gradation of cooperation is found wherever people work together for the largest and greatest human good. They are others-centered and their cooperative-mindedness is all-inclusive. The members of any occupation or profession whose daily activities are dedicated to spreading constructive and creative stimuli illustrate cooperation in its most significant expressions. Others-centered cooperation involves doing democracy as well as talking it, involves building a peaceful society, involves living the Golden Rule all the time.

Cooperation is the working together of persons intelligently and sympathetically for the development of other persons anywhere who may be affected and responsive in good faith to such human activities. The objects of cooperation may vary all the way from physical needs, such as food, housing, clothes, and health, to spiritual needs, such as recreation, education, and religion. Cooperation is not only purposeful but aware of its purposes. It shuts its doors to no one who is sincerely interested and measures its efficiency in terms of the enrichment of mankind. The cooperative person has his life aims centered outside his own glory, and the cooperative group has its goals located outside its own success.⁸

When a hundred welfare agencies, for instance, cease to solicit the same people and business houses for funds and join in a community chest campaign, they are likely not only to increase their own revenues but to gather inspiration from working together, and the larger community experiences a new morale. When labor and management, for example, in manufacturing and selling shoes at fair prices also work together in developing the personalities of employees and employer and in helping to build the general community welfare, they are indicating some of the possibilities of others-centered cooperation. When the people of a community unite to build up the spiritual resources of that community through a church, a school, or a program of community improvement, they may be reflecting others-centered cooperation. When the consumers of a community unite in a cooperative society that follows the Rochdale Principles,⁹ their working together points in the direction of others-centered cooperation.

⁸ Anders Orne, *Cooperative Ideals and Problems*, translated by J. Downe (Manchester, England: Cooperative Union, Ltd., 1937), Chap. 1.

⁹ V. S. Alanne, *Fundamentals of Consumer Cooperation* (Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing Association, 1946), Chap. IV.

Cooperation began in reflexive and instinctive actions. It has universal expressions in survival values and in the origins and development of social groups. It is dynamically expressed in the drives to get ahead, both by individuals and by groups. It may not only build individuals and groups directly, but without awareness of what it is doing it may extend its benefits to others. It culminates in activities that are distinctly others-centered. It substitutes getting ahead with others in behalf of the total common weal for getting ahead of others. It operates all the way from individuals to large human groups, and if the tendency through the ages is a criterion it will continue its widening, deepening, and enriching development until human activities generally are carried forward within the broad and dynamic currents of the cooperative process. In working with others for the common weal "our highest qualities are engaged" and in this engagement personalities are developed. "Such development makes us better individually and consequently the standard of society is improved."¹⁰ Genuine cooperation is a social act that is expressed in interstimulation on its highest gradation.

¹⁰ W. Walker, *The Consumers' Movement* (Manchester, England: Cooperative Union, 1950), p. 64.

PACIFIC COAST NEWS AND NOTES

Pacific Sociological Society

Newly elected officers for 1951 include Paul Wallin of Stanford University, president; Joel Berreman, University of Oregon, vice-president of the northern division; Harold Jacoby, College of the Pacific, vice-president of the central division; Edwin M. Lemert, University of California at Los Angeles, vice-president of the southern division. Ray E. Baber, Pomona College, and H. J. Locke, University of Southern California, will serve as members of the Advisory Council, and Leonard Broom, University of California at Los Angeles, will be the representative to the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society. Gwynne Nettler, University of California, Santa Barbara College, continues as the Society's secretary-treasurer.

Pomona College

Dr. William Kirk spent the second half of 1950 visiting the Union of South Africa. This was his eighth trip to distant points to study preliterate groups which are still extant on the earth but which are for the most part tending to disappear. Dr. Kirk specialized on this trip in studying the Zulus and other Bantu peoples and returned with interesting and important new data as well as illuminating motion pictures.

University of Southern California

The March meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta, held at the home of Dr. and Mrs. George B. Mangold, was addressed by seven graduate students on the subject "International Aspects of the Exchange of Students." The participants were Bruce Pringle, I. R. Yoshino, Yan-kee Tsang, Robert Curry, Mrs. Evelyn Locke, Billyanna Niland, and Ericka Roemer. Vice-President Albert S. Raubenheimer is scheduled to speak on "Racial Relations in South Africa" at the semiannual Initiation Dinner in April, at which Dr. Bessie A. McClenahan, as president of the Alpha Chapter in California, is the presiding officer.

The Making of Public Opinion by Dr. Emory S. Bogardus was published in March by the Association Press, New York.

SOCIAL WELFARE

HUMAN RIGHTS—WORLD DECLARATION AND AMERICAN PRACTICE. By R. N. Baldwin. New York: Public Affairs Pamphlets, 1950, pp. 32.

This document gives the thirty articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as agreed upon by the 1948 General Assembly of the United Nations, with comments on many of the Articles. A Covenant of Rights with measures of enforcement is in process of being formulated. Four suggestions are made for enforcement of human rights: (1) judicial review by an international court, (2) a commission of inquiry and conciliation and civil rights agencies to aid in enforcement procedures, (3) nongovernmental agencies composed of citizens to assist in enforcement, and (4) a special Human Rights Commission "with independent power to investigate and enforce." It is suggested that studies be made "in every country professing democracy to show how far its own law and practices measure up to the obviously advanced standards set forth in the Declaration of Human Rights."

CURRENT SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Clement S. Mihanovich and Joseph B. Schuyler. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950, pp. xvi +452.

The authors remark that this text for an introductory course on social problems is the result of denominational teaching experience, and that this has to some extent influenced the selection of its contents and the interpretation offered. Where controversial issues are concerned they have presented views pro and con when feasible, and it is suggested that teachers and students may introduce sociological data from other sources. Efforts to keep the study within the bounds of "Christian sociology" would tend to limit the approach to any problem. Such an undertaking may have its merits, but there would also be need for tolerance of, and an understanding of, other approaches.

Following a statement of the basis of Christian sociology, the range of social problems presented may be indicated by an enumeration: population, war, juvenile delinquency, crime, labor, unemployment, birth control, sterilization, divorce, health, mental deficiency and mental disease, poverty and dependency, interracial problems, and the rise of socialism. This text is informative, though much of it falls into an outline form. More discussion would have been helpful and would improve its readability.

J.E.N.

PHILANTHROPIC GIVING. By F. Emerson Andrews. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950, pp. 318.

This book gives a mass of surprising information. After a short account of philanthropy in ancient and former times it plunges into the facts of present-day giving. The author points out that current government expenditures now total nine times the amount of giving in the field of so-called private charity. The greatest single stride in that direction was Roosevelt's achievement in securing the enactment in 1935 of the Social Security Law.

Giving is a general practice, and if contributions to churches are included more than one half of the sums collected come from the lower income groups and at higher rates than the average for all classes. Charitable giving exceeds four billions a year but is still less than the expenditures for tobacco and much less than those for intoxicants.

Foundations have become an effective device for the giving of large sums by single individuals. Of these foundations there are more than 500 with endowments of \$50,000 or more. Several have endowments exceeding \$100,000,000 each. The purposes of these foundations are more broadly stated than formerly and therefore permit a wide range of activities. The chief beneficiaries, however, are education, social welfare, and health.

Community trusts have become a special type of foundation. They receive contributions from many people and thereby furnish an outlet for givers who could not establish major foundations. The present number in the United States is 76. The board of directors in each case determines the use of the available funds.

Voluntary agencies may be national or local in scope. More than 400 have been listed as national and some thousands are local or state wide in their field of service. In 1947, health services—commercial and philanthropic—cost \$8,425,000,000, of which 6.5 billions were for personal medical care. Operating costs of hospitals now run from \$2,000 to \$3,000 per bed per year. In 1949 the American Red Cross raised 67 millions, the national Tuberculosis Association 20 millions, and the Foundation for Infantile Paralysis 25 millions.

Although nearly every city employs some system of federated giving, some agencies hesitate to engage in teamwork and the Red Cross forbids its locals to cooperate in the Chest campaigns. Different methods are now used to suppress fraudulent solicitation.

The financial plight of the private college and university has become serious. New sources of funds must be discovered either from higher

tuitions—a dangerous method—or from endowments, scholarships, or grants from public sources.

Scientific research is carried on chiefly in the fields of natural science. Donations are given largely for this kind of research and to a minor extent only to the social sciences. One plan of minor research is the preparation of a doctor's dissertation or a master's thesis. The author is not too sanguine over the results obtained by 68,900 pieces of research in a year, especially when such subjects as the "Economic Significance of Extra Ribs in Pigs" are chosen for study.

The book is a valuable contribution to the literature on philanthropy and doubly useful to the college professor, the preacher, and the social worker.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD

RADIO AND TELEVISION. An Introduction. By Giraud Chester and Garnet R. Garrison. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950, pp. xv+550.

Designed for a textbook, this treatise contains a wealth of factual material. The first part, consisting of thirteen chapters, deals with the history and current aspects of radio with a small amount of attention being given to television. The topics include: Growth of the American Radio, Programming, Stations and Networks, the Listeners, International Broadcasting. The second part of seventeen chapters is devoted to the technical aspects of radio, television applications, the announcer, interviews, sports and special events, writing the script, sound effects. The three chapters of the third part consider educational radio and television, broadcasting as a career, and standards of criticism. In other words, the book gives materials, chiefly descriptive, of the development and role of radio in society, and also of the nature of broadcasting skills.

The authors present a favorable picture, steer clear of analyzing the role of the radio as a mass communications medium, and avoid critical evaluations of the influence of the radio. As they had to choose between discussing television in connection with radio and handling the theme in a separate section, they adopted the former procedure, which was probably wise in view of the limited treatment given to television. A revision would represent a distinct improvement if it utilized the extensive research studies which have been made of the radio as an aspect of the process of communication. The value of the book for the prospective radio operator is enhanced by 38 examples of radio scripts and a glossary of 123 items.

E.S.B.

CRIME ON THE LABOR FRONT. By Malcolm Johnson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950, pp. xi+243.

This book is based primarily on the author's Pulitzer prize-winning series of newspaper articles in 1948, exposing labor racketeering on the New York water front. The International Longshoremen's Association was the chief target of his attacks.

Mr. Johnson makes it clear that he is not antilabor, that he is himself a union man, and that his attack is not directed at all unions, but only at that small percentage which has fallen into the hands of criminals.

His story is well told and well documented. It would make exciting journalistic reading were it not for the fact that the plot of the story is so familiar and has been repeated many times. The cast of underworld characters includes a great many gangsters who are nearly as well known as our movie heroes. The pattern of murder, bribery, threats, and political corruption is too familiar to bear repetition. Mr. Johnson gives us the typical gangster pattern brought up to date in a New York setting; everything else is pretty much the same as in the halcyon days of Al Capone.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

A PLAN FOR PEACE. By Grenville Clark. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. x+83.

In this small book a far-reaching and carefully developed plan of peace for the world is unfolded. The author played a leading role in developing the "Plattsburgh Idea" in World War I and a major part in writing the Selective Service Bill in World War II. Now he gives a detailed plan for preventing World War III.

The author makes thoroughgoing disarmament "the crux of the problem of world order." He argues for disarmament in all arms and by all nations, except for limited police forces, and for adequate inspection techniques (under United Nations auspices) to see that this goal is achieved and maintained. He calls for a basic revision of the present United Nations Charter so that a world federation could function in one major field, namely, in those matters plainly and directly related to war prevention. His plan was submitted to the representatives and senators of the Congress of the United States in June 1950.

According to this plan "the present work of the United Nations for the promotion of the economic and social welfare of the world should

be encouraged and extended." World law would be developed and a United Nations Peace Force (a better name than Police Force) would be maintained. Disarmament would take place in three stages of four years each, in order to give time for making necessary adjustments and to allow certain nations to learn to trust one another. A new Executive Council (without the veto) would be created and the present Security Council would be abolished.

The author expresses hope because "every lawyer knows that settlements are constantly made between opponents who distrust and despise each other." But the world must have world law; however, "the world must become a community before it can have any world law." Negotiations must proceed from strength and not from weakness. "Sure guarantees of observance" by all the main parties must be provided. The author believes "that the system of completely sovereign states and competitive armaments is an anachronism," but another cataclysm may be needed "to provide a final chastening."

The plan has much to commend it, but there are a number of weak spots in it which doubtless the author could strengthen if he gave specific attention to them. Perhaps undue space is given to describing what a third world war would be like if it came. A major weakness could be met if the author would develop a plan for the economic and social development of all the weaker, the underprivileged, and the fearful nations of the world.

E.S.B.

LEADERSHIP OF TEEN-AGE GROUPS. By Dorothy M. Roberts. New York: Association Press, 1950, pp. 195.

The book has a twofold purpose: to describe the dynamics of teen-age experience and to share with adults interested in working with teen-agers ideas that will help develop the kind of group climate in which these dynamic factors can be most adequately provided for. This climate is to be characterized by a balance between "youthful freedom and adult authority." The adult is not to assert authority, but help teen-agers accept it as a part of their own spontaneous need.

The book is written for the layman. Abstract psychological concepts are expressed in functional terms. There is an abundance of illustrative material giving a life-situation approach to the principles of leadership discussed. This approach gives the desired balance between the theoretical and the practical.

A basic weak point in the book is the discussion of "Adult Objectives in Leading." What concepts of truth, goodness, justice have endured? Is it not the content of these concepts that is being challenged today, rather than the concepts themselves? What tests are there that will help determine whether the truth one stands firm on is universally valid or particularistic? Is not the notion of standing firm a contradiction of the concept of growth? Another weak point is the suggestion that "Group counseling is easier than individual counseling" (p. 79). This seems to oversimplify a rather difficult procedure. The value of the book would have been enhanced had an index been included and also a more adequate reading list for the leader. FRANCIS J. MCOLASH

THE AGED AND SOCIETY. A Symposium on the Problems of an Aging Population. Edited by Milton Derber. Champaign, Illinois: Industrial Relations Research Association, 1950, pp. 237.

The symposium is unusually rich with data and interpretations concerning the lives and problems of our senior citizens. It deals with topics such as self-provision by older people, retirement age and social policy, social provisions for the aging, and the employability of older people. One of the most important papers is by Ernest W. Burgess on "Personal and Social Adjustment in Old Age."

BASIC SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By Walter A. Lunden. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1950, pp. xii+612.

This textbook has been designed to meet a specific and somewhat localized need. The purpose indicated by the author is to confront the student with human realities at the level where people live in the nation, in the region of the upper Mississippi Valley, and in the rural and urban areas of Iowa.

Besides a general introduction to social problems, there is a discussion of population, physical deficiency, disease, mental deficiency, economic problems, family, juvenile delinquency, and crime—all as basic forms of social problems. Statistical figures, charts, and maps are used freely to present objective data. The author's analysis is interesting and clear. Though planned primarily for college students in Iowa, the work may be consulted profitably by teachers and students in other parts of the nation.

J.E.N.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

THE POPULATION OF INDIA AND PAKISTAN. By Kingsley Davis.
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951, pp. 263.

A persistent demand for a systematic study of the demography of India and Pakistan has been satisfied by this scholarly work. Principal topics investigated are the following: declining death rates, fertility rates, migration, urbanization, education, religion, problem of partition, and economic problems of agriculture and industrialization. The changing social structure of the castes and classes is presented with unusual clarity and insight. Comparisons with population rates in other countries give meaning to the interpretations suggested by Davis. For those students of world affairs who see in India an emerging world power and great civilization, this excellent volume can be used as the primary text.

E.C.M.

SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY: THE SCIENCE OF HUMAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE. By J. S. Slotkin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xx+604.

In order to provide a systematic introduction to social anthropology, the author offers an evaluation of the knowledge gained by an empirical and comparative study of human societies and culture. Among the basic concepts stressed as essential for the course are the following: society, custom, culture, environment, economy, communication, social relations, politics, and forms of social control. There are several approaches to the study environment, including naturalism, supernaturalism, aestheticism, and mysticism.

The style of writing is clear and concise, but this does not mean that definitions and exposition are all that they could have been. The use of numerous brief excerpts from the works of other authors would be acceptable, but in far too many instances the remarks of Mr. Slotkin are limited to one line or a short sentence, thus making transitions abrupt. The work as a whole does not make easy reading because of this roughness in its organization.

As for definition of terms, the reader, in not a few instances, must work them out from context or by a comparative method. Even a word like *clan* is not clarified, and it does not help much to say that "A nation is a spatial group which is a society." The book is, however, informative, and it may have other features desirable in a text.

J.E.N.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS. By the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minnesota. St. Paul: The North Central Publishing Company, 1950, Vol. xvi, pp. 218.

These records of early Scandinavian settlements on the Pacific Coast throw light on various aspects of early pioneer days in California, Oregon, and Alaska. The completion of the Union and Pacific railroads in 1869 provided a means of escape for many Scandinavians in the Middle West who were tired of extremes of heat and cold, drought and grasshoppers, crop failures and depressions. In large numbers they migrated to the Pacific Coast.

Recognizing possibilities of extending its work westward, the Lutheran Synod during the 1870's sent the Reverends Hvistendahl and Fridrichsen to establish churches for the Scandinavians in San Francisco and Portland. Letters from these pioneer pastors to relatives and home newspapers describe the difficulties they encountered—competition with dance halls, saloons, beauties of the great outdoors, and other religious sects. But they also reveal the loyal and unselfish efforts of those who helped these two churchmen organize the first Lutheran churches for Scandinavians in California and Oregon.

These records also include excerpts from diaries and letters of Scandinavians who went to the Alaskan gold fields after 1896. They disclose the hazards and hardships as well as the successes and failures of those who sought wealth in the far north. Full of excitement and color, these documents relate the adventures of these modern Vikings who played both major and minor roles in the Alaskan drama. A few found the wealth they sought, but a larger number either died far from home or returned with an empty purse. CECIL EVVA LARSEN

BROTHERS UNDER THE SKIN. Revised Edition. By Carey McWilliams. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1951, pp. 364.

The main additions to this widely read treatise on racial and ethnic relations are represented by the Introduction, the concluding pages of the various chapters, the new chapter on the Jewish Minority and Anti-Semitism, and the final chapter entitled "Beyond Civil Rights." In the Introduction emphasis is placed on the way racial and ethnic relations in the United States in the last eight years have attracted world-wide attention. The additions to each chapter which bring the respective discussions up to date vary considerably in importance. The treatment

of the Jewish minority is necessarily limited because of an earlier book by the author which is given over entirely to this theme. The discussion of "Beyond Civil Rights" takes the reader into the field of civil liberties. The revisions make a significant addition to a book which is admittedly partisan in behalf of minority groups and iconoclastic with reference to tearing down old icons of a "racist" nature.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE WESTERN PUEBLOS. By Fred Eggan. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950, pp. xviii+373.

This book contains a wealth of information about Western Pueblo peoples, including the Hopi Indians, the Hano, the Zuni, the Acoma, and the Laguna Indians. The pattern of analysis is similar for each group. There is an introductory approach, then a discussion of the kinship system, the clan system, ceremonial organization, political organization (particularly of the Hopi villages), and finally the author's conclusions and general interpretation.

Such a pattern of analysis facilitates a comparative study of Pueblo culture, though each people is dealt with as an integrated unit. Some variations in the functions of culture traits, institutions, or forms of organization are noted by the author. The clan system, for example, is usually the basis for land ownership among the Pueblo peoples and in primitive societies generally; yet in Acoma the tendency is away from clan ownership and toward a family basis. The study is, of course, not exhaustive, but it provides a useful and satisfying introduction to Indian pueblo life.

J.E.N.

STATEMENT ON RACE. By Ashley Montagu. New York: Henry Schuman, 1951, pp. xi+172.

This publication includes the UNESCO statement on race and an interpretation of it. The original Statement of twenty-one paragraphs represents the distilled wisdom of scientific research on the subject of race. The twenty-one paragraphs were originally issued without citing the facts and findings upon which they were based. Dr. Montagu, who was a member of the committee which drew up the original Statement, has, in this book, stated the evidence upon which it rests.

The author develops what might be called a dynamic theory of race—dynamic in the sense that "races are not fixed, static, or solidified bodies of genes or patterns of characters, but rather that races are dynamic systems of biological organizations which are more or less

in constant process of undergoing change" (p. 19). Abundant evidence is given to support this contention. This dynamic approach leads to the conclusion that all our racial concepts are but snapshots of an evolutionary process. Constant emphasis is placed on the fact that "all members of all the different races are very much more alike than unlike each other." Where we differ, the "points of difference ought to be points of interest to us." In order to avoid some of the unfortunate predetermined patterns of thought in our discussions of racial problems, Dr. Montagu suggests we use the term *ethnic groups* rather than *racial groups*. The book closes with an excellent discussion of cooperation and survival, indicating that the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest cannot be applied to social relations.

The book is significant because this is the first time in history that there has been a statement on race by a world organization. Anthropologists, sociologists, biologists, biochemists, geneticists, social psychologists, zoologists from many parts of the world have made their contributions to this *Statement on Race*.

FRANCIS MCOLASH

EARLY MAN IN THE NEW WORLD. By Kenneth Macgowan. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xviii+260.

This fascinating and valuable work examines the principal problems and speculations concerning the role of early man in the American hemisphere. As an essential part of the study, the author recognizes the findings concerning prehistoric man in the old world and in other continents, the influence of the ice ages, early migrations, and the evidences of cultural evolution from the eolith onward, along with man's biological evolution.

Controversial debates concerning how early man appeared in the American area are considered fairly, with an appraisal of the Folsom and other sites. It is shown that the problem of dating early man in the American continents is complicated by the roster of extinct animal forms with which various artifacts have been associated. Another problem discussed is that of racial affiliation—even the pygmies, Australoids, and Negroids requiring consideration in establishing prototypes. There is also the question whether the Indian invented or borrowed his culture.

One of the most intriguing and puzzling areas of archaeology and anthropology has thus been surveyed by a writer who fortunately has had both extraordinary interest and skill in research. This book should appeal to the layman as well as the scientists.

J.E.N.

AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By Ralph Piddington. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1950, Vol. I, pp. xxvi+442.

It is a pleasure to welcome this new textbook into a field which has of late been unusually active. Professor Piddington offers a superior method of teaching the course. Furthermore, he is content to deal with anthropology as a discipline without claiming all the social sciences as his domain, though he notes their relationships to each other. He carefully defines terms, clarifies the aims and methods of social anthropology, and dispels fallacies.

There is a consistent emphasis on the functional approach to the analysis of culture. Cultural patterns in the broader sense are compared, rather than traits. The cultural unity of the various groups observed is also a feature of the method of analysis.

The book begins with a statement of basic principles as a frame of reference for the course. Then a tour of primitive peoples in Africa and America, Asia and Oceania puts social anthropology to work. There are two excellent chapters on social organization. The principles of cultural analysis are examined in terms of primary, derived, and integrative needs, and of the structure and analysis of institutions. Cultural analysis is then given in more detail for food and wealth, land tenure, primitive law, and religion and magic.

The textbook is well organized, logical in its plan, and exceptionally readable and inviting. This reviewer looks forward eagerly to the second volume.

J.E.N.

THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. By Edwin O. Reischauer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950, pp. ix+357.

This book is the most recent addition to the American Foreign Policy Library, which is being developed in response to the need in our country for information about the rest of the world. Mr. Reischauer has organized the book into four sections. The first is a concise record of the contacts and problems between the United States and Japan. He states that "it was probably through Christianity and the Christian missionaries that the United States exerted its chief influence on Japan." He also suggests that "there is little evidence in Japanese history that democracy will find in Japan a congenial milieu already made for it." If a democratic system develops, it will have to begin at bedrock and the builders must be Japanese, using Japanese cultural materials shaped as they may or may not be by world factors. The second section presents

the physical setting of people and land, natural resources, industrialization, and the economic system and shows the relationship of these factors to Japan's place in the world.

Dr. Reischauer's analysis of the Japanese character in Section Three is one of the most enlightening I have yet found. His treatment of Japanese concepts of shame, obedience, will power, authority, hierarchy, and self-discipline provides information that would have been of great service to me during the time I, as an American civilian, had to deal with members of the Japanese army in China. By the same token, I suggest this part of the book as especially helpful to those Americans who are now working with the Japanese. The last part of the book is a frank statement of the problems of the occupation.

The author speaks from a background of long experience and advanced study in his field. Dr. Reischauer was born in Tokyo and lived for seventeen years in Japan. He speaks and reads Japanese and has made Japan his major study. He has served as Special Assistant to the Chief of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs, Chairman of the Japan-Korea Secretariat, Lieutenant Colonel in Army Intelligence, and as a member of the Cultural and Social Science Mission to Japan for the Army Department. The documents appended to the book are invaluable to the student of Far Eastern affairs: The Potsdam Proclamation, The United States Initial Post-Surrender Policy for Japan, The Constitution of Japan, and a good list of books for further study.

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SOCIAL THEORY

WHO IS PEACEFUL? By Wolfgang J. Wilgart. New York: Exposition Press, 1950, pp. 71.

The author offers suggestions for a human philosophy of peace. He considers politics as a factor in war, man's possible biological evolution toward the level of peace, the function of education, the psychology of play and creation in the life of the individual from childhood onward, and the role of science and culture. Finally, he stresses the importance of developing man's mental powers and his spiritual values for peace.

J.E.N.

THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF VALUES. By Radhakamal Mukerjee.
London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1950, pp. xx+418.

For over thirty years Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee of the University of Lucknow, India, has been a prolific writer and researcher in several fields of sociology, including ecology, sociology of art and religion, population, and Asian economic problems. This latest work, which reveals a wide acquaintance with American thought, is a systematic presentation of sociology in which valuation is regarded as central to social relations, institutions, and structures. It represents one of the most important sociological analyses of valuation yet attempted.

The tendency to exclude values and value judgments from social science has given rise to the view that even the analysis of social values themselves is a legacy from the theological or metaphysical stage of sociology. But despite the effort of modern sociology to exclude values, its ethos, Dr. Mukerjee maintains, has frequently been heavily loaded with valuations. It has become increasingly recognized in recent years that problems involving the choice, reconciliation, and conflict of values are basic to social organization. Dr. Mukerjee claims that there is a consequent need for a distinctively sociological theory of values, and that social relations and processes can be systematically classified and understood in terms of an investigation of the values current in human groups. He points out in the present work that sociology should objectively analyze the value-systems of different cultures, classifying their values and norms and studying their interaction in the processes of social and institutional change.

Every culture, according to this view, may be regarded as an experiment in value hierarchy, and hence sociology involves the study of the origin and evolution, differentiation, conflict, and diffusion of values. The psychological laws, whereby values become transformed into wants and are conserved and symbolized, and the relation of values to status systems and class structure are also topics that fall within the province of sociological investigation.

The volume considers the relation of values to different group structures, such as the familistic, interest-group, society, and commonalty structures. Dr. Mukerjee avers that sociology has lacked an adequate theory of values, but that it should discern the rise of new value systems in the cultural consciousness and should show how new values can be integrated into prevailing systems.

The work should long stand as a monumental study in sociological value theory. In the opinion of this reviewer, *The Social Structure of Values* represents a major contribution to a field that has not received the attention its importance warrants. As the brilliant product of an Eastern mind that also understands Western thought systems, it is marked by many keen psychological and sociological insights and is notable for its wealth of ideas as well as clarity of style.

JOHN E. OWEN
Ohio University

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHIES OF AN AGE OF CRISIS. By Pitirim A. Sorokin,
Boston: The Beacon Press, 1950, pp. xi+345.

This is a timely, informative, and stimulating book from the busy pen of sociologist and philosophically minded Pitirim A. Sorokin. Seven reasons are given for attempting in this age of crisis to re-emphasize and evaluate the meaning of the contributions of those great sociohistorical philosophers who have attempted to interpret the events of history as meaningful for the future of the human race. These may be stated briefly as follows: (1) the selected social philosophers have been as creative and fruitful as any other group of social and humanistic scholars; (2) they have dealt with the basic problems of sociocultural life instead of pursuing trivial research; (3) they have looked straight at sociocultural reality; (4) they have concentrated upon difficult problems instead of wasting efforts in a pseudoscholastic preoccupation with "techniques" of study; (5) they have viewed with skepticism the doubtful and limited validity of various objective and mechanical tests in this age of testophrenia and testomania; (6) they have a logical, epistemological, and philosophic background, as well as empirical and technical competence superior to that of most of the social and humanistic scholars; and (7) they, being graced with a spark of talent above the rank and file of the social "researchers" of today, have as a group re-established a most important "historico-sociological and philosophical school" in sociology. These Sorokin-tested philosophers are Danilevsky, Spengler, Toynbee, Northrup, Kroeber, Schweitzer, Berdyaev, and Schubart, with Sorokin himself acting as commentator and critic-admirer.

A striking high point is Sorokin's brief discussion of the significance of ethical values for this critical period. His words are worth quoting for both the warning and the hope embodied in them: "It is my firm conclusion that without a notable altruization of individuals and groups,

of social institutions and culture, neither can future wars be prevented nor a new, truly creative order be built, . . . And further, like Schweitzer, I regard this ethical revival of love or reverence for life as the most urgent need of mankind at the present moment—more urgent than further scientific, technological, or other progress."

For those who wish information in abbreviated form about the theories of the selected social philosophers, this book may be warmly recommended. The author has crystallized their contributions into short, readable essays and made brief criticisms of the strengths and weaknesses of their theories. Beginning with an interesting account of the aesthetic philosophers of history—philosophies which attempt to reveal the trends of history through the development and manifestations of art phenomena—Sorokin brings the book to a climax with an analysis of the areas of agreement among the social philosophers. Here, then, is a solid revival of the significant importance of social philosophy for the sociologist and the social scientist who may have neglected the potential of the *idea* and its role in shaping human destiny.

M.J.V.

FREEDOM, POWER, AND DEMOCRATIC PLANNING. By Karl Mannheim. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950, pp. xxiv+384.

Sociology students who are acquainted with Mannheim's earlier works on *Ideology and Utopia*, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction*, and *Diagnosis of Our Time* will welcome this book, the first of the posthumous volumes of Mannheim's writings to be published. A careful piece of editing has been done by Dr. Hans Gerth, Dr. Ernest K. Bramsted, and Dr. Agnes Schwarzschild, with the cooperation of Dr. Julia Mannheim.

The contribution of this book is to be found in its analysis of "democratic planning." Mannheim refers to this procedure as the Third Way, a way between reaction and revolution. It is a way between "bureaucratic monopoly capitalism" and "totalitarian communism." It is a way of reform and peaceful change. It is "planning for freedom, subject to democratic control," planning for "social justice rather than for absolute equality," planning that does not favor "group monopolies either of entrepreneurs or workers' associations," planning "for cultural standards without leveling down," planning for "balance between centralization and dispersion of power."

A bold social education "for life and the reconstruction of the ruling elites by the planned admixture of socially ascending groups are to pave

the way toward the good society." The key to this process is found chiefly in the emancipated intellectuals "who are capable of extricating themselves mentally from the pressures both of outlived folkways and of manipulative attacks of propagandists who try to impose upon them doctrines and artificial ideologies of nationalism."

Mannheim discusses a number of subsidiary themes, such as the three forms of social power, the important role of the middle class, ways of choosing leaders, the "reality level" which determines the nature of what is denominated propaganda and the nature of democratic personalism. As in his previous works Mannheim is highly stimulating, but he does not carry his principles into blueprints of practices. E.S.B.

THE "WHY" OF MAN'S BEHAVIOR. By Hadley Cantril. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. xiii+198.

This book does not measure up to the author's past performances or to the high expectations aroused by the title. In his attempt to sketch a "new" general explanatory scheme for all of human behavior, he badly overreaches himself. One may agree with Cantril's conclusion that no existing theory "rings quite true," but this effort does not help matters.

The author's scheme centers around the conception of values and value judgments. The most characteristic aspect of human experience, we are told, is the "value attribute" which permeates it; and the most "generalized human goal" is the enhancement of this value attribute, especially through social intercourse. Cantril extends this value judgment theme to various aspects of human behavior, including the individual's conception of self and of the world. The term *assumptive form world* is used to designate what may be called the basic frame of reference and value system of the individual.

The generalizations which the author makes on the basis of his orientation are, in general, trite, vague, and speculative. Even though one may agree with them in a rough common-sense way, it is difficult to see how they can be of any special value for scientific analysis. It is also hard to understand how the viewpoint can be characterized as "new" or why it is regarded as an explanatory scheme.

The descriptions of psychological investigations, especially those on perception, are often interesting and important, as are many of the quotations from famous philosophers and scientists. However, neither the quotations nor the psychological data have any critical or unequivocal bearing on the author's master generalizations. The scheme is lacking

in clear definitions, in crucial tests of theories proposed, and in a consideration of alternative conceptions and theories. The author, who is a competent social psychologist, has tried in this book to assume the role of the philosopher. Most readers will prefer him in his usual role.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION. By Alexander H. Pekelis. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950, pp. xiv+272.

In these essays the late Professor Pekelis attempted to bridge the gap between law and such social sciences as economics, politics, and sociology. He stressed interdisciplinary cooperation and integration and thus saw law functionally as related to social action.

The range of his interest is reflected in the titles of some of these essays, which have been brought together in commemoration of his contributions to knowledge. The topics include the jurisprudence of welfare, the relations and differences between legal techniques and political ideologies, administrative discretion and the rule of law, compulsory racial segregation and the constitution, human rights, and the trends in the function and role of the Supreme Court. The essays are not equal in merit, though all are informative and reflect originality.

J.E.N.

FIELD THEORY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. *Selected Theoretical Papers.* By Kurt Lewin. Edited by Darwin Cartwright.

This book is complementary to a volume of Lewin's papers published last year entitled *Resolving Social Conflicts*. As that book had a practical slant, this one is theoretical and presents some of Lewin's far-reaching ideas; it centers attention on "methodological and conceptual prerequisites for a mature science of human behavior."

Ten papers are given. Among the most stimulating are those dealing with (1) constructs in field theory, (2) defining the field "at any given time," (3) field theory and experiment in social psychology, (4) problems of research in social psychology, (5) frontiers in group dynamics, and (6) behavior and development as a function of the total situation. To consider these papers is to gain a new appreciation of Lewin's basic contributions to the development of the social sciences in terms, not of individuals as such or of groups as groups, but as aspects of the total environment which have some meaning for the given individual and the given group, respectively.

Although the operational approach upon which Lewin insists increases exactness of thinking, a weakness may lie in its tendency to attend only to those aspects of individual and social life which have "demonstrable effects." The "social field" is a rich source of explanations of human behavior, yet its tendency to ignore the subtle aspects of motivations may be a shortcoming. However much validity these criticisms and others may have, they still do not minimize the fundamental importance of Lewin's work. This volume will add to the convenience of the student of Lewin.

E.S.B.

STUDIES IN LEADERSHIP: LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRATIC ACTION. Edited by Alvin W. Gouldner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. xvi+736.

Editor Gouldner presents in this volume thirty-three articles on direct leadership, supplemented and, in a sense, synthesized by his own running commentaries on the materials. In a somewhat too lengthy introduction, he explains his views on democratic leadership, critically examines studies on leadership traits and situationism, and defends his point of view for choosing his definition of a leader. The definition: "A leader will. . . here be considered as any individual whose behavior stimulates patterning of the behavior in some group."

The articles have been assembled under five general headings: (1) types of leaders, (2) leadership and its group settings, (3) authoritarian and democratic leaders, (4) the ethics and technics of leadership, and (5) affirmations and resolutions. Pointed consideration of leadership as process is lacking. Among the contributors are W. Lloyd Warner, Robert K. Merton, Leonard W. Doob, Daniel Bell, the late Kurt Lewin, and the late Jeremiah F. Wolpert, to whose memory the work is dedicated.

The editor views leadership emerging as a social problem, since it arises "when individuals possessing a specific frame of reference confront crisis situations with which they feel themselves impotent to deal." Of course, this limits leadership to a certain type of leader. Frankly stating that the book is partisan to the frame of reference which emphasizes democracy, individualism, and mastery of the environment, the third part of the book is devoted to five articles on manipulation and authoritarian leadership and on proposed counteragents. Some may question whether such an open announcement of partisanship by the editor is an asset or a liability for a work supposed to be penetrated with scientific research. Looks like card stacking!

There is, indeed, a wealth of materials on phases of leadership and social situations in which it functions. Five well-chosen articles in the second part of the book deal with practical problems of leadership among minority groups. Although many of the articles have appeared elsewhere before, some take on new or added meaning by their placement. Among the best for an understanding of phases of leadership problems are Merton's "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," Whyte's "Informal Leadership and Group Structure," Lee's "Power Seekers," and Dexter's "Some Strategic Considerations in Innovating Leadership." Since the book has been limited to the emphasis on leadership for democratic action, it should not be considered an exhaustive presentation of the study of the totality of leadership patterns.

M.J.V.

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY. By Frederick Mayer. New York: American Book Company, 1950, pp. xiv +546.

It is not necessary to specify in this review the array of philosophers and their works or leading concepts from the beginning of Greek philosophy to the twilight of medieval thought. The list is sufficiently complete and well organized, with the essentials for good class discussion or for general reading.

The author's approach in this textual study is dynamic. He draws skillfully upon the history of civilization while re-evaluating ancient philosophy. He knows how to correlate ancient, medieval, and modern ideas, how to use the past as perspective for the present and future; his treatment throughout the book remains as fresh as today's news items.

The relation between ideas and the social environment out of which they arose is stressed as a feature of the book. Occasionally the reader's interest will be sharpened by apt questions which, by the way, will be answered. The work as a whole is commendable for its direct style of writing and its "flow." It possesses a human quality of scholarship.

Although the Greeks and Romans receive a full measure of attention, the philosophers who follow and set the pattern for the medieval period are by no means placed in an inferior or secondary position. The perspective of the author and his plan of analysis require virtually no arbitrary division of the book into major sections, the chapter titles being sufficient. Questions and topics for discussion add to the usefulness of the book as a text.

J.E.N.

SOVIET IMPERIALISM: RUSSIA'S DRIVE TOWARD WORLD DOMINATION. By Ernest Day Carman. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1950, pp. 175.

The story of Soviet territorial aggrandizement in recent years is recorded here, as is also a statement of further plans for aggrandizement. Those who may still have doubts concerning Soviet strategy, techniques, or purposes of aggression and conquest are invited to read this book.

Historical perspective for the study is provided by the author, including the role of the Nazi-Soviet Pact as it concerned Poland and the Baltic states, Bessarabia and Northern Bucovina, and details of the Soviet-Finnish War are considered. The Yalta and Potsdam decisions are examined as they concern Poland, Germany, Japan, and China. Soviet ambitions involving Scandinavia, Czechoslovakia, Turkey, Iran, and other countries are carefully weighed. Though the book may seem short for such a problem, the author has discussed the essentials in terms which cannot be misunderstood. He brings out the reality of Soviet imperialism and the plans for world domination. Any Soviet assurances to the contrary may be judged as false.

J.E.N.

THE EDUCATION OF MAN. By Heinrich Pestalozzi. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1951, pp. xii+93.

In this little book are selections from the writings of Pestalozzi which reveal the comprehensive scope of his philosophical thought. It includes excerpts that disclose keen insight and warm understanding of man's relations with himself, his physical world, his human associates, his God.

Pestalozzi believes that teaching is the greatest of all the professions, requiring as it does a deep understanding of human nature, love, courage, and great skill in guiding others. To this great Swiss teacher we can trace six basic principles of educational philosophy that have had marked influence upon modern education: (1) "Personality is everywhere sacred"; (2) "Love of those we would educate is the sole and everlasting foundation in which to work"; (3) "In each child is the promise of his potentiality"; (4) "Work from the known to the unknown, from the simple to the complex, from the concrete to the abstract"; (5) "A man learns by action . . . have done with words"; (6) "Place emphasis on repetition following direct concrete observation—*Anschauung*."

CECIL EVVA LARSEN

SOCIOLOGY. By John F. Cuber. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951, pp. 647.

This splendid text has been thoroughly revised and brought up to date as a second edition. Students will find the first four chapters a superior orientation to modern sociology. The unsettled contest in sociological literature between qualitative reflections and quantitative reasoning is presented eclectically. Dr. Cuber suggests the term *Verstehen* as descriptive of the qualitative approach and emphasized by Cooley, Mead, and MacIver.

The text is organized around cultural understanding, social psychology, human groups, social institutions, and the nature of social processes and problems. Cuber is a careful and cautious interpreter of sociological studies and principles. Perhaps the strongest chapters are on the family, race relations, education, and social stratification.

Publisher and author are to be congratulated on their intelligent presentation of visual aids in the revision. Instead of meaningless photographs they have used some of the best illustrations to be found in modern sociology and have included an annotated bibliography at the end of each chapter. This complete revision of a successful text ought to assure it a place among the top books in introductory sociology.

E.C.M.

THE THIRD FORCE IN CANADA. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, 1932-1948. By Dean E. McHenry. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950, pp. vii+351.

In this excellently printed volume the author has presented a remarkably well-balanced analysis of what amounts to a third party movement, which, it is contended, has a fair chance of winning an electoral majority in Canada in the not immediate future. It is "democratic in organization and aspiration, socialist in policy, and pragmatic in tactics." It was "born on the Canadian prairies in the depression of the Thirties." Its name is a kind of compromise if not a hodgepodge; it was designed to be general enough to make a wide appeal. The use of the term *cooperative* in the name is misleading, for cooperatives, with their emphasis on private ownership and distributed control and their opposition to state ownership and control, do not fit into the socialist tenets of this new party. Cooperative types of organization are approved by the Party so long as they serve socialist ends, but not as decentralized control units and as autonomous local community bodies.

This Party is presented as a Canadian version of the British Labor Party, although its agrarian origins represent different origins from the British movement which bowled over the Liberal Party in England and which has been engaged in a 50-50 encounter with the Conservative Party.

The treatise is carefully developed from the political science point of view, is clear cut in its factual presentation, and is alive with data for sociological analysis.

E.S.B.

TOWARD FREEDOM FROM WANT. From India to Mexico. By D. Spencer Hatch. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. xii+303.

For nearly a quarter of a century Dr. Spencer Hatch, now associated with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Costa Rica under the Association of American States and the Pan-American Union, has pioneered in an effort to help the starving millions of rural India extricate themselves from the grip of agricultural poverty. The story of his achievement was published before the war, and this latest book is largely a reprint of two earlier ones. It is an account of the application of techniques which the author successfully utilized in Travancore, as well as in other sections of India.

Dr. Hatch's policy was based upon a combination of agricultural self-help and expert aid and counsel. He was concerned not merely with improving rural life, but with meeting the needs of Indian people in terms of a larger five-point framework—spiritual, mental, physical, social, and economic. His study is founded on extensive observation and thorough knowledge of India's economic life. The results represent a breadth of active participation that embraced the problems of leadership and leadership training, rural education, cooperative production and marketing, Indian YMCA work, cooperation between government and nonofficial agencies, and home crafts.

After further experience with the rural problems of Mexico, Dr. Hatch reached the conclusion that "well-tried, sound principles and methods will serve anywhere, if skillfully and devotedly adapted to the culture, the needs, and the wishes of those who dwell there" (p. x).

The volume contains a dozen illustrations and ends with a short bibliography. As the challenging and heartening account of one man's efforts in agricultural and social reconstruction, *Toward Freedom From Want* is a book that should prove valuable to all engaged in problems of scientific rural administration. At a time when public concern is being expressed for the needs of the less fortunate areas of the world, it warrants wide attention.

JOHN E. OWEN

THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: Association Press, 1950, pp. x+265.

This book deals with a subject many people talk about, some work at, but all are concerned with. For the first time we have a systematic approach developed in terms of the process itself. No other book to my knowledge does this job.

The book is divided into five parts as follows: Nature and Functions of Public Opinion, What Makes Public Opinion, Limitations of Public Opinion, Measurement of Public Opinion, and Conclusions. There are fifteen chapters and two appendixes. Part II on What Makes Public Opinion is especially strong. Chapter eight on Discussion Groups is very good, and chapter nine on the Opinion Making Process is equally effective. The case studies of public opinion are impressive, and I wish there could have been more of this kind. However, the case studies that are included are exciting. More materials might very well have been included to show how the group method is used to change attitudes and behavior.

A recent statement by a writer in the *Saturday Review of Literature* that "man's experience of living with man on this contracting planet is mainly a problem in communication," is vividly illustrated by Dr. Bogardus' book.

The Making of Public Opinion will be a useful book in a wide variety of settings. Community organization workers and administrators will find it of immense value. It will be equally valuable to lay people and to professional people. It is an example of one of our great needs today, namely, to put together the findings of social science in such a form that all persons will be able to understand the implications thereof and will be properly guided in their attempts to develop a sound public opinion. The organization of the book is superb. Its pace and gait are smooth. The style is clear, convincing, and thoroughly stimulating.

HARLEIGH B. TRECKER